DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 082 877 RC 007 318

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|---|---|
| AUTHOR | Harkins, Arthur M.; And Others |
| TITLE | A Summary Report on Menominee Indian Education: 1968-1970. |
| INSTITUTION | Minnesota Univ., Minneapolis. Center for Urban and Regional Affairs.; Minnesota Univ., Minneapolis. Training Center for Community Programs. |
| PUB DATE | Apr 73 |
| NOTE | 146p. |
| EDRS PRICE | MF-$0.65 HC-$6.58 |
| DESCRIPTORS | *American Indians; Development; Economic Factors; *Educational Change; *Educational Research; Elementary Schools; Federal Programs; History; Individual Power; Middle Schools; Parent School Relationship; Reservations (Indian); Secondary Schools; Social Change; *Student Attitudes; *Teacher Attitudes |
| IDENTIFIERS | *Menominees |

ABSTRACT

Since July 1970 the Training Center for Community Programs (University of Minnesota) has produced 11 interim reports on Menominee education in Wisconsin. This summary is the 12th and final report on this American Indian tribe's progress since Federal trusteeship was terminated in 1965. The Menominees, now citizens of Wisconsin, still have more than cultural ties binding them and setting them apart. They have their own county and government; are stockholders in Menominee Enterprises, a tribally-owned corporation; and have their own special set of economic and social problems. The summary covers the Parents and Students Committee for Better Education's solutions for problems in Joint District Number Eight; background of that district and its Title III (Elementary and Secondary Education Act) project; Indian parents; and elementary, middle, and high school student and teacher attitudes. Ten major problems are listed, such as the credibility gap, institutional overload, and an insensitivity to changing patterns of survival behavior. (FF)

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# A SUMMARY REPORT ON MENOMINEE INDIAN EDUCATION: 1968-1970

by

Arthur M. Harkins

I. Karon Sherarts

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EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
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Training Center for
Community Programs
in coordination with the
Office of Community Programs
Center for Urban and Regional Affairs

University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

April, 1973

The work reported here is part of a large University of Minnesota project, which has been financed from several sources.

RC007318

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DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

April 29, 1961

## FEDERAL TRUSTEESHIP ENDS FOR MENOMINEE TRIBE*

The Department of the Interior announced the discontinuance of Federal trust supervision over the tribal property of the Menominee Indians of Wisconsin and the ending of special service to the tribal members because of their status as Indians.

The actions were taken under provisions of the Menominee Termination Act of June 17, 1954, as amended and will be effective at midnight April 30. However, legislation now pending in Congress would extend the period of Federal responsibility, and if Congress enacts it before midnight Sunday, the Department's announcement would be voided.

A secretarial proclamation of the termination of Federal trusteeship and special services is being published in the Federal Register.

The Federal Register also is publishing the Plan for Future Control of Menominee Indian Tribal Property and Future Service Functions. This plan was developed by the Tribe with technical help from various sources and was approved by the Department of the Interior several months ago.

Title to all the tribal property, both real and personal, is being transferred through the proclamation from the United States Government to a tribal corporation chartered by the State of Wisconsin and organized under provisions of the amended Menominee Termination Act.

P.N. 92418-61

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*Fay, George E. (ed.) Journal of the Wisconsin Indians Research Institute. Oshkosh: Wisconsin State University. Vol. I, No. 2. 1965, p. 6

## GENERAL STATUS OF MENOMINEE COUNTY*

Menominee County has suffered from unemployment, under employment, high birth rate, low family income, and general economic stagnation. In 1960 the United States Bureau of the Census reported that over 90 percent of the families had an income of less than a $1,000 per annum. In 1965, it was reported that annual income ranged from $0 to 2,999 for 88 percent of the families; $3,000 to 4,999 for 7.8 percent of the families. In 1967 annual income was $0 to 2,999 for 76.8 percent of the families; $3,000 to 4,999 for 11.8 percent of the families; $5,000 to 7,999 for 8.6 percent of the families; and $8,000 to 9,999 for 2.8 percent of the families.

The major economic problem has been the broadening of the tax base. Not only is Menominee Enterprises, Inc. (MEI) the county's major taxpayer, paying approximately 82 percent of taxes, but it is also the county's major employer. Approximately 70 percent of the labor force is employed by MEI. _Because of the economic ties, a knowledge of MEI is prerequisite to an understanding of Menominee County's problems_. [Emphasis added]

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*LaFave, Reuben, Robert Warren, James G. Frechette, _et_. _al_. _Report of Menominee Indian Study Committee to the Wisconsin Leigslative Council_, Vol. VIII. January, 1970.

# SCHOOL CHANGES MOST PREFERRED BY
# MENOMINEE INDIAN HIGH SCHOOL
# STUDENTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Change the principal | 24% |
| Change the teachers | 26% |
| Change the rules: | |
| Less strict | 31% |
| Equalize enforcement | 25% |
| Open Campus | 29% |
| Allow smoking | 17% |
| Change the Dress Code | 59% |

## INTRODUCTION

Since July, 1970, the Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota has produced eleven interim reports on the education of Indian children in Menominee County, Wisconsin. This summary report is the twelfth and final in the series. The titles of the eleven previous reports are:

The Formal Education of Menominee Indian Children: Sociocultural and Socioeconomic Background Factors.

The Formal Education of Menominee Indian Children: Recent Educational Background Conditions.

School Teachers and the Education of Menominee Indian Children: A Study of Two Elementary Schools.

The Formal Education of Menominee Indian Children at the Middle School Level: Teachers.

The Formal Education of Menominee Children at the High School Level: Teachers.

Menominee Children: A Study of Two Elementary Schools.

The Parochial Education of Menominee Indian Children: A Study of One School.

Menominee Parents and the Education of Menominee Children.

The Formal Education of Menominee Children at the Middle School Level: Students.

The Formal Education of Menominee Indian Children at the High School Level: Students.

Influential Persons and Menominee Education.

In 1955, Goerge D. Spindler published a work on the Menominee people which was to gain extensive appreciation, both by professional anthropologists and by Menominee Indians themselves.[1] Spindler's study divided the adult Menominee Indian population into a "continuum of socio-cultural adaptation" which ranged from "a native- orientedgroup still clinging to much of the aboriginal pattern of life, to a socio-political reservation elite" who more closely approximated a "middle-class American culture type."[2] For research purposes, Spindler divided his acculturation continuum into "four levels of adaptation" to western culture. The continuum had five population categories:

> 1. the native-oriented group, in which the Medicine Lodge... and Dream Dance ... organizations are maintained, and patterns of life from the aboriginal culture survive to the greatest extent;
> 2. the Peyote Cult group, in which the members have found a special solution to the strains created by the adaptative process;
> 3. the transitionals, who have had experience with both native and western-oriented religious groups, but who maintain clear-cut identification with neither, and in general indicate that they are culturally and socially suspended between two ways of life;
> 4. a category of persons who appear to have adopted a thoroughly Western way of life, but who do not occupy a high position in the occupational or power structure of the reservation;
> 5. a category of persons who approximate an American middle-class pattern of life, and who receive the occupational, monetary, and prestige rewards available in the reservation community in the greatest degree.

Spindler's five categories of population. representing four levels of "socio-cultural adaptation" were supposed to constitute a "synchronic continuum" of "ordered categories," and a host of "psychological adaptations" related to the various sequential categories. For our purposes in the Summary report, perhaps the most useful conculsions from Spindler's research are the following:

> Despite much cultural disintegration, continuity between the aboriginal way of life and that of the contemporary native-oriented group can be demonstrated and provides justification for treating this group as the base line of the synchronic continuum. Two general themes characterize the patterning of the contemporary group culture. The first consists of an attitude of dependence upon power received from supernatural agencies for accomplishment or failure in the acts of life, and this attitude is accompanied by a passive acceptance of fate. The second is expressed in the careful constraints placed upon overt interpersonal aggression, with self-control, humility, and concern for others as ideals for behavior.[3] [emphasis added]

Spindler treated Menominee acculturation and adaptation in a later work.[4] Referring again to the adaptation categories and to continuum acculturation, Spindler concluded that the native-oriented Menominee situation was doomed:

> I would like to feel that a system of [traditional Menominee kind would endure forever, but the powerful industrial-political forces for change towards a sociocultural system and a character type more suited for aggressive, competitive, exploitive human relationships are inexorable. The Menominee way of life is doomed despite its staying power, as are hundreds of others formed over millennia as man groped his way along various and dramatically different paths to separate solutions to the problems of human existence. The native-oriented Menominee know that their way is threatened. They fight to retain it. With self-conscious determination parents say of their children, "We have to try to get 'em on our side. They're Indians and they'll always be Indians." But the older people know that doomsday has come.[5]

## Menominee Historical Background

Perhaps the most recent and succinct summary of important highlights in Menominee history as it relates to current conditions is found in the Handbook on Wisconsin Indians[6] published with the cooperation of the University of Wisconsin Extension Division, and written by Joyce M. Erdman, a Research Assistant for the Wisconsin Governor's Commission on Human Rights. The excellent quality of this summary has led us to include it here in its entirety as an introduction to more detailed treatment of some events and trends in Menominee life.

## The Menominee Indians

The Menominee Indians represent a special category in Wisconsin. They are no longer regarded as Indians by the Federal government. Thus, unlike other bands, they are not eligible for aid under trusteeship status. They are full fledged citizens of Wisconsin with all the rights and responsibilities of any other people settled within the boundaries of the state. But the Menominees, in contrast to other ethnic groups, have other than cultural ties binding them together today and setting them apart. They have their own county - the 72nd in Wisconsin - and their own government; they have their own industry and are stockholders in the Menominee Enterprises; and they have their own special set of problems, economic and social, which qualify them for the beyond-the-ordinary attention which has been given them already and will continue to be devoted to them.

### History

When the French explorers and fur traders came to Wisconsin in the mid-seventeenth century, they encountered a peaceful tribe of woodland Indians, hunters and fishermen and gatherers of wild rice, whom they called the Menomini. The French influence was strong and it is apparent today in the many French names of Menominee families and in the predominantly Roman Catholic faith of the tribal members.

With the westward migration of the American colonists, Menominee lands were ceded by a series of treaties to the newcomers. The famed Menominee chief, Oshkosh, acted for the tribe in these negotiations and is credited generally with preventing the removal of the Menominees to Minnesota, obtaining instead a final treaty in 1854, which gave them an area of 12 townships of 276,480 acres of forested land. Two years later two of the townships in the southwestern corner were allotted to the Stockbridge-Munsee Indians, leaving a final total of 233,902 acres for the Menominee reservation.

In the years that followed, two factors stand out as contributing decisively to the well-being of the tribe. First, following the General Allotment Act of 1887, when other Indians were losing their properties through sales of their lands and inability to pay taxes, the Menominee leaders rejected the allotment system and elected to hold the lands in common under tribal rule. The reservation therefore remained intact and, as a single parcel of land, it qualified for special legislative attention. Second, in 1908 Congress passed the LaFollette Act establishing for the Menominees a selective logging operation on a sustained yield basis. A forestry survey showed that 20,000,000 board feet of selected timber could be cut each year without in any way decreasing the overall supply of trees. With the careful planting of new trees and the cutting of mature ones, the total amount of standing timber trees on the reservation has remained approximately the same as it was in 1908. This act also authorized the use of tribal funds for a modern sawmill which was built the following year at Neopit, replacing the former 60 year old mill and becoming the chief source of support for tribal members.

In 1951 an award of eight and one-half million dollars to the tribe set in motion events which led just a few years later to termination of all federal control over Menominees. The Court of Claims award, based on the Menominee claim that the government had mismanaged the sawmill operations, could not be released without Congressional appropriation. However, when Congress reviewed the proposal of a per capita payment of $1,500 to tribal members as their share of the eight and one-half million dollars, it was made clear that they could not expect payment unless they accepted an amendment terminating federal supervision. Subsequently in a general council meeting the Menominees voted 169 to 5 in favor of the principle of termination.

The original Menominee Termination Act of 1954 set December 31, 1958 as the final termination date. The deadline was later extended to April 30, 1961.

## Termination

The ending of all federal supervision and responsibility for the Menominees caused a major impact not merely on Indians, but on the state of Wisconsin as well. This group of 2,500 Indians, long isolated from the mainstream of culture about them, with little responsibility for their own affairs - ill-housed, underemployed, poorly educated, and, as it turns out, in poor health - was now expected to move ahead to self-government and self-support.

Adjudged among the most prosperous of all tribes in the country, still the fact was that in comparison to the non-Indians around them they represented a community of dire poverty.

The seven years during which the tribe prepared for independence and the state arranged to accept this new group of citizens into Wisconsin political and economic life were characterized by innumerable surveys and planning projects. The result was an orderly transferral of governmental authority and responsibility from federal officials to state and county representatives on the one hand, and to private management of the mill and forest operation on the other. The reservation formerly located in Oconto and Shawano counties was, by popular vote of the Menominees and by legislative enactment, made into Wisconsin's 72nd county.

Most tangled and perplexing of all problems facing the Menominees was the question of the owndership and future of the mill operations. The establishment of the Menominee Enterprises with stock certificates and income bonds held by enrolled tribal members - but controlled by a board of directors composed of both Indians and non-Indians - proved to be a practical and workable solution. Because the corporation had to bear more than 90 per cent of the total county taxes, it was more than obvious that the affairs of Menominee County and Menominee Enterprises were totally interdependent and interlocked. The relationship of these two controlling units had to be delicately regulated to ensure management policies which would serve the best interests of both and avoid conflicts of interest between public and private groups.

## Population and Land

Menominee County covers 233,902 acres of heavily forested land in northeastern Wisconsin. It is the largest single tract of virgin timber in the state, a magnificent area of towering pines and rushing waters of the Wolf River. The four unincorporated villages of Keshena, Neopit, Zoar and South Branch are combined into a single township, the boundaries of which are the same as those of the county. Keshena and Neopit are the major population centers.

The tribal rolls as of March 1956 listed 3,252 members of whom nearly 700 lived off the reservation, mainly in urban centers such as Milwaukee, Chicago and Detroit. Only 75 of the members were counted as full blooded Indians in 1952.

A 1964 survey lists 2,256 county residents, of whom 57 percent are under 19 years old and 5 per cent over 65. Thus the balance of 38 per cent, or 960 persons, comprise the labor force in the county. The family units in the County total 496 with an average of five children per family.

## Economic Resources

Menominee Enterprises is the largest single employer in the county with approximately 250 full-time workers at the mill and in the woods at an average income of $3,760 and 170 part-time at an annual income of $1,100. In 1965 the corporation provided about 95 per cent of the earned income in the county. The county itself employs close to 40 men, mainly in administrative and highway work. There are few other sources of regular jobs in the county, making it evident that out of a labor force of 960, less than half have steady employment. The unemployment rate in 1964 was set at 18 percent and the median family income was below $3,000.

Since there are practically no business establishments, such as super markets, department stores, garages or banks, most of the people's earnings are spent outside the county. The steady outward flow of money means there is little of the multiplier effect of spending essential to any economy.

To improve its economic position after termination, the Enterprises undertook a program of modernization and expansion. A reappraisal of the forest potential led in 1961 to a doubling of the amount of board feet of timber which could be cut each year. Unfortunately, the resulting increase in production and sales has not led to a corresponding increase in employment, although the net profits to the corporation have grown larger each year.

Prospects for attracting additional industrial development to the county are not considered promising, mainly because the county lacks a minimum of services to attract commercial enterprises. Good housing areas are limited and local leadership does not have the experience or capital to assist in new ventures. Nevertheless, within the past few years, local residents have obtained 16 loans from governmental sources for the development of small businesses.

A land development program with emphasis on recreation probably offers the major hope for the future. Leasing of sites for summer and year round homes will not only bring in new capital and customer potential but it will also increase the county tax base. As of September, 1965 ,97 such lease purchase agreements had been signed. Proposals for developing the county into park and forest recreational areas have been made by both federal and state officials. Meanwhile the Department of Resource Development of the state of Wisconsin, the Northern Wisconsin Development Project of the University of Wisconsin and the Wolf RIver Basin Regional Planning Commission are continuing in 1966 to explore new areas of increased economic opportunity.

Currently underway in 1966 is a Congressional study investigating possibilities of a planned resort area which would bring the tourist dollar into the county, but at the same time protect the land from haphazard and undesirable development. A bill calling for the preservation of the Wolf River as scenic waterway is also under the state legislative scrutiny.

## Governmental Organization

To establish a new county equipped to carry out the everyday duties of police protection, welfare services, health and sanitary supervision and the administration of tax levies is no light undertaking. But to accomplish this in an area which is admittedly impoverished, where unemployment is high and the tax base rests on a single industry, presented problems without precedent.

To meet the difficulties of a county without lawyers or similar professional people, Menominee was attached to Shawano county for legal purposes, including the services of the courts, district attorney and detention facilities. The new county pays all expenses involved as well as a percentage of the salaries of the district attorney and the family court commissioner.

A seven member county board of supervisors with concurrent membership on the town board was established, with Keshena designated as the county seat. Financial problems were the foremost concern. Because at the time of termination only 1.6 percent of the homes in the county had an assessed valuation of $6,000 or more, it was evident that the corporation would bear almost the entire burden of property taxation. Today

92 percent of the annual state, county, town and school district taxes levied in Menominee county are paid by the company. This makes clear the deep interrelationship of the Enterprises and the county and emphasizes the fact that profits from the corporation must be kept high in order to finance the county government. Since property taxes increased only 46 percent, it is only too obvious that the financial situation is precarious.

## Housing

Poor housing is one of the critical problems in the county. Less than one-third of all units in the county are in sound condition, one-third in deteriorated condition and one-third dilapidated. Sanitation is not good. Although pipe lines for water and sewage extend through Keshena and Neopit not all the houses are connected. Only 44 percent have indoor plumbing and only 55 percent have running water in their homes. A considerable number of families have no source of water on the premises and must haul it from some distance.

In the past four years F.H.A. has made 40 new housing loans and 11 housing grants for $1,000 each in the county. The formation of the Menominee Housing Authority in July 1966 now paves the way for application to the Public Housing Administration for low cost housing units. It is hoped that as a beginning 25 units will be built in Keshena and 25 in Neopit.

## Health

After termination, when the new county became a part of District No. 6 of the State Board of Health, intensive tuberculosis case findings were initiated, with the result that county TB costs sky-rocketed from $12,400 in 1961 to $65,000 four years later. Skin tests in the spring of 1965 showed that 60 percent of all residents reacted positively, in contrast to a figure of 20 percent for Wisconsin residents as a whole. To assist the county in meeting this emergency, the state legislature granted an unprecedented $80,000 appropriation to the Menominees in 1964. The diabetes rate, 20 times higher for the Menominees than for the general population is also cause for concern.

Overall, the mortality rate among the Menominees is considerably higher than it is for the rest of the state's citizens. A greater incidence of disease, an appalling number of fatal auto accidents, and a general failure to seek medical help except in emergencies, are major contributing causes.

A survey in 1965 revealed that 93 percent of all Menominee children between 5 and 19 needed dental care. The State Board of Health approved a grant of $10,000 to be matched by an equal sum from the U.S. Children's Bureau to meet these needs. This dental work began in the spring of 1966.

Hospital care is no longer available in the county, inasmuch as the tribally operated Catholic hospital was closed soon after termination due to the fact that it did not meet state standards. There is no resident doctor in the county, although the county board has employed a public health nurse since 1960 and the State Board of Health has financed a second nurse since July 1965. At present, medical and hospital care are available in neighboring communities, but financing the costs of such care presents a major problem to the individual family.

## Education

There are four grade schools in the county, two public and two parochial.

High school students go by bus to Shawano. Menominees are eligible for the vocational training scholarships and for the college scholarships offered by the state of Wisconsin. Out of a total of 54 college scholarships offered in the 1965-66 school year, ten of the recipients were Menominee students.

The Community Action Program for Menominee county, first granted funds by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity in May 1965, has placed special emphasis on educational activities. Menominee children participated in a summer nursery school in the summer of 1965, in an "upward bound" college preparatory six-week session at Ripon College, in special training and remedial courses offered in elementary schools, and in after school study centers. Year around recreational programs are offered to teenagers. Six VISTA volunteers have helped with these projects. In 1965 a Neighborhood Youth Corps program provided summer work for 65 young people and winter employment for 31. By November of 1965 the total CAP program expenditures for Menominee county were $182,804.

Other groups have also worked with the Menominees, notably the Wisconsin Indian Summer Project college volunteers, the Friends of the Menominees from Wausau, the University YMCA in Madison and Peace Corps volunteers in training at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

## Welfare

One of the first actions of the Menominee county board was the creation of the Menominee County Department of Public Welfare and the provision for the transfer of this function from Shawano county. By October 1962 the agency had a director, a public assistance worker, a child welfare worker and one clerical assistant. At the same time the Division of Children and Youth, using federal funds, began a demonstration project to illustrate the value of a sound child welfare program provided locally by trained social workers. This demonstration program will end in 1967. The present staff of the welfare department consists of seven caseworkers, two homemakers, four clerical workers in addition to the welfare director and casework supervisor. Administration costs approximated $40,000 in 1965, but with state and federal funds bearing the larger proportion, net costs to the county were not as high as might be expected.

In 1965 approximately one out of every 40 persons in the state of Wisconsin received some form of public assistance; in the same year in Menominee county one out of every six persons was receiving some kind of aid. The average cost per Menominee of $7.43 was over four times the average of the state cost as a whole. The following figures show the distribution of the aid in the month of September, 1965:

| Program | Number of Persons | Amount |
|---|---|---|
| Aid to Dependent Children | 258 | $10,092.57 |
| Aid to Dependent Children in Foster Homes | 55 | 2,592.82 |
| Old-Age Assistance | 43 | 3,588.37 |
| Aid to the Disabled | 28 | 2,938.40 |
| Aid to the Blind | 5 | 351.50 |
| General Relief | 37 | 502.35 |
| TOTAL | 4[illegible] | $20,066.01 |

Federal and state grants assumed the major burden of the costs:

| Government | Amount | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Federal | $10,127.74 | 50.5% |
| State | 6,402.59 | 31.9 |
| County and Town | 3,535.68 | 17.6 |
| TOTAL | $20,066.01 | 100.0% |

It is worth noting that the aid of dependent children has more than tripled since termination. This in no way indicates that the problem has become more acute. Rather it shows that the need of these children has been discovered through individual casework. The earlier the problems of neglect are encountered, the greater the chances are that they will be dealt with successfully. Money spent of prevention lowers the total costs in the long run.

Looking to the future, when it will be no longer necessary to deal only with emergencies on a salvaging basis, the county welfare department plans an increase in preventive type service.

To aid county residents in meeting their own welfare needs, the Wisconsin legislature established a special fund of one million dollars in December 1963 to enable Menominees to borrow money, pledging their Enterprises income bonds as security. These bonds, worth $3,000 each and earning four percent a year, has been issued to the people as their share in the Enterprises. To prevent the dissipation of these bonds among outside interests, the law provided this alternative to selling the bonds. The State Department of Public Welfare, which administers the program, now holds bonds valued in excess of $1.7 million.

## The Future

During the past ten year period from 1955 to 1965 the legislature enacted 22 bills and passed eight joint resolutions pertaining to the Menominees. Most of this legislation has resulted from the work of the Menominee Indian Study Committee which was established in 1955 to study the transition problems and make specific legislative proposals. The Committee's ten year report published in April 1966 recommended the development of a long-range plan by state, federal and county officials to assist the Menominees to achieve lasting economic and social stability. At the same time solution to the immediate needs for capital, industry, jobs and government leadership should be sought.

A bill is now pending before Congress which would aid in the achievement of the long-range goals. The Nelson-Laird Bill was drafted to provide ten years of support for education, health, and welfare, to finance careful economic planning, and to grant the long-term loans needed to

> establish a stable economy. Specifically the bill calls for almost $2.9 million in grants and $5 million in long-term loans to the county. This bill would in effect recognize the obligation of the federal government to aid in bringing Menominee county up to acceptable state standards after having turned over what amounted to a deficit area to the state. While this bill itself may not become law, it is hoped that individual provisions and grants will achieve the same purpose.
>
> In any summation of the present and the future of the county, foremost consideration and importance must be given to the Menominees themselves. Their record of accomplishment, despite the sometimes bitter conflict and factionalism, has been a good one. The county and two boards are directing a multi-million dollar governmental operation with responsibility and ingination. The Enterprises are showing increasing profits with the years. While many of the Indians were initially opposed to termination and were unhappy with the proceedings, and others showed indifference to their new responsibilities of self-government, nevertheless the great majority of Menominees have worked together for their own self-improvement. They have taken major strides in health, housing, education and economic welfare. As Indians they have rapidly adapted themselves to a new way of life. To expect them to move at a faster pace or to conform completely to the White man's ways, is neither reasonable nor realistic. The Menominees have already shown determination and courage in dealing with termination. For the years to come they will need not only financial aid and economic aid, but also general understanding and cooperation as they strive to achieve a secure life in Wisconsin.[7]

In 1969 the Menominee Indian Study Committee prepared a report to the Wisconsin Governor and Legislature on the status of the Menominee Indian community.[3] The report estimated the population of Menominee county at 2,836 persons as compared to 2,515 at the point of termination. The 1969 population estimate placed Menominee county at the bottom of the counties in the state. Of the 1969 residents, it was estimated that 1,044 were enrolled tribal members, 1,644 were "either descendants of enrolled members or unenrolled members," and the remaining 148 persons were non-Indians. The study committee also estimated that about nine percent of Menominee county's population had emigrated between 1960 and 1965, but it noted that two neighboring counties (Shawano and Langlade) actually had higher rates of emigration. Some other characteristics of Menominee county pointed out by the study committee were as follows:

1. a high migratory rate offset by high birth and low death rates;
2. the highest birth rate in the state — nearly double the state average;
3. about two more children per family compared with the state average;
4. about one fourth of 107 births classified as illegitimate in 1967
5. an illegitimacy rate about five times the state average between 1963 and 1967;
6. a low death rate attributed to the "scarcity of elderly people and the excess of youths;"
7. a limited working force and an overabundance of dependents "due to the peculiar patterns of migration, birth, and death;"
8. a proportion of 57 percent of the residents under the age of twenty and 6 percent over the age of 65;
9. of the working age population, 13 percent between the ages of 21 and 34, and 24 percent between the ages of 35 and 64;
10. the lowest annual per capita income ($881) in the state for 1965 (annual per capita income was $1656 for nearby counties and $2404 for the state);
11. household earnings indicate that 76.8 percent of Menominee county families have incomes below $3000 per year (a figure high for surrounding counties but indicating considerable gain from previous years);
12. the highest unemployment rate in the state, with 24.4 percent of the work force unemployed in 1968;

13. about 46 percent of Menominee county's residents received some type of public assistance during 1966, with 80 percent of those receiving assistance being children;

14. medical assistance accounted for about 55 percent of the welfare case load;

15. substantial improvements in health problems have been made, especially in the detection and treatment of tuberculosis, but substantial difficulties related to early infancy diseases, alcohol, pneumonia, and diabetes continue (the incidence of diabetes in the county averages about six times that of the state).

The 1969 Menominee Study Committee Report contained many succinct paragraphs on Indian education in Menominee County. These are reviewed below:

## Education

### Elementary

> For operational purposes, Menominee County is part of Joint School District No. 8. The majority of the 994 elementary school children attend the four schools in the county. The public school programs at Neopit and Keshena include kindergarten through sixth grades. In addition, both public schools have pre-school programs. Public education after sixth grade is continued at various schools within the school district. Keshena and Neopit each have parochial school grades one through eight. From ninth to twelfth grades, students attend either Cresham or Shawano High Schools.
>
> New facilities have been added to the schools in Joint School District No. 8. Since termination, a classroom has been added, the library and office remodeled, and the playground enlarged at the Neopit school. The school at Keshena, which is new, has nine classrooms, a gymnasium, library, and kitchen. Shawano High School, Franklin, and Gresham schools have also obtained additional facilities.

The two public schools in the county are now directed by a full-time administrator. All staff members are certified. In addition, special teachers for physical education, art, and music have been employed.

Funds available under Titles I, II, III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 have been concentrated on the educational programs in Menominee County.

Title I funds have been utilized for school programs for four year olds. The program is staffed by two full-time certified teachers and four aides. Approximately 25 children have participated in the program since it was initiated in 1966.

Since 1966 a summer school program for pre-school children has been held. The programs at Gresham and Shawano Junior High have emphasized fundamental skills and social adjustments.

A special materials biology program is held at Shawano High School. The majority of students enrolled are Menominees who have been unable to cope with the regular course. Since its innovation three years ago, the program has successfully aided students in becoming active class participants. Due to the popularity of the course, the school has initiated a similar physical science course, which is not funded by Title I.

Title I funds have also been used to establish libraries at Keshena and Neopit. Each library has a full-time certified librarian and an aide.

A full-time registered nurse, a visiting teacher-social worker, and a remedial reading consultant have been employed under Title I. Besides consulting with classroom teachers, these workers serve as liaison between the school and the parents.

Title II funds have been used to purchase library books, filmstrips, and overlays. Since 1966, $29,247.81 of Title II funds and $33,097.58 of district funds have been expended for these purposes. Special allocations in the 1966-67 biennium were expended at Keshena and Neopit.

## 1968-69 ENROLLMENT

| School | Grades | No. Children | No. Indian Children | %Indian Children |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Neopit Public | K-5 | 171 | 167 | 97.7 |
| Neopit Public | Pre-school | 30 | 30 | 100.0 |
| Keshena Public | K-5 | 200 | 184 | 92.0 |
| Keshena Public | Pre-School | 36 | 34 | 94.2 |
| Gresham | 7-12 | 224 | 68 | 30.4 |
| Gresham | K-6 | 267 | 61 | 22.8 |
| Franklin | 6-8 | 572 | 116 | 20.3 |
| Lincoln | K-5 | 423 | 50 | 11.8 |
| Olga Brener | K-5 | 536 | 2 | .03 |
| Shawano High School | 9-12 | 1,085 | 173 | 15.9 |
| TOTAL PUBLIC | | 3,544 | 835 | 25.0 |
| (Private) | | | | |
| St. Joseph, Keshena | 1-8 | 140 | 140 | 100.0 |
| St. Anthony, Neopit | 1-8 | 142 | 142 | 100.0 |
| TOTAL PRIVATE | | 282 | 282 | 100.0 |
| TOTAL COMBINED | | 3,826 | 1,167 | 30.5 |

Source: Kingston, Alan, "Summary Report of Progress Made in Menominee County Public Schools Since 1961." February, 1967.

## EXPENDITURE OF TITLE II FUNDS

| School | Total Library Books | Purchased Title II | Film Strips | Purchased Title II | Overlays | Purchased Title II |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| High School | 9,695 | 1,312 | 597 | -0- | -0- | -0- |
| Lincoln | 7,250 | 383 | 817 | -0- | -0- | -0- |
| Keshena | 7.545 | 1,000 | 485 | 57 | 433 | 125 |
| Neopit | 4,000 | 600 | 275 | 47 | 25 | -0- |
| Franklin | 6,278 | 956 | 34 | -0- | -0- | -0- |
| Olga Brener | 4,401 | 1,879 | -0- | -0- | -0- | -0- |
| Gresham (K-12) | 3,400 | 670 | 467 | -0- | 1 | -0- |
| TOTALS | 42,569 | 7,300 | 2,675 | 104 | 459 | 125 |

Source: Kingston, Alan, "Summary Report of Progress Made in Menominee County Public Schools Since 1961." February, 1969.

In order to improve the basic concepts and skills in communication, arts, and mathematics for primary grade students, the school district applied for Title III funds. The resulting program provided computer assistance so that students could learn on a self-paced basis. The program is primarily utilized in grades one through three in the Neopit and Keshena schools.

### Adult Education

Other than the vocational training programs previously mentioned, various adult education programs are conducted in Menominee County. Since 1964 these classes have included courses in beginning typing, public speaking, weaving, and upholstery. Approximately 100 Menominee adults have attended these classes.

## Higher Education

As with other Wisconsin Indians, Menominees are eligible for Indian college scholarships (Ch. 545, Laws of 1963). To be eligible, an Indian (1/4 or more Indian blood) must be a Wisconsin resident, have the capacity for college work, and be in the upper two-thirds of his high school class.

As of March 1969, 34 Menominee Indians had received such scholarships. Six of the students were in their fourth year of college. Twelve had completed between two and three years of college. The other students had completed one year or less of college.

Title I funds - Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 -- have been utilized in the Upward Bound Program. This program provides pre-college experience for potential college students.[9]

## II

## MENOMINEE EDUCATION:
## THE PARENTS AND STUDENTS COMMITTEE FOR BETTER EDUCATION

In April, 1970 the Menominee County Parents and Students Committee for Better Education released a document which had profound effects in many Indian and non-Indian quarters in and around Menominee County. The document spoke directly to alleged problems with Indian education in Joint District Number Eight, and offered specific suggestions for solution in an "education bill of rights". This document is reproduced on the next few pages as an introduction to the seriousness with which many Menominee parents and their friends regarded the education of Indian children in Joint District Number Eight.

### STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Recognizing that the education of our youth is one of the primary concerns of our community, and that the community delegates its power to an elected school board; Let it be known that in accordance with our Constitutional Rights the community reserves the right to withhold its sanction of policies that it feels are unfair, discriminatory, or not in the best interests of its youth.

### Resolution

WHEREAS, the Indian people have for ages been free, democratic and happy people by nature and have been "learned" in the true sense of the word, there comes a time when these same free spirits must call for dramatic changes in a school system that stands in the way of their education.

WHEREAS, the present system neither enhances the Indian's self-concept nor prepares him for the real world in which he seeks to be an Indian while making a living in the predominant white middle-class society, and

WHEREAS, the present educational system is so structured as to prevent the local Indian community from being an integral and vocal part of the education of our youth.

BE IT RESOLVED that the citizens exercise their constitutional rights in establishing standards and policies to be administered by the school system.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the school system cease asking what is wrong with the Indians because of their lack of achievement and begin to ask themselves, "What is wrong with us that we are unable to meet the needs of Indian youth?"

## EDUCATION BILL OF RIGHTS

1. The right to expect and receive from all school administrators and staff the empathy and rapport necessary to enhance the dignity of the person.

2. The right to actively participate in all educational opportunities offered in the School District which includes academic subjects, vocational training, Fine Arts, athletics and school clubs.

3. The right of the student with the consent of his parent to attend the school of his choice within Shawano or Gresham.

4. The right of each student to be provided with counseling and guidance conferences whenever social or academic problems manifest themselves.

5. The right of each student to receive, without exception, his report card at the regular time of distribution.

6. The right of each student to compete for all available scholarships with the assistance of the school counselors.

7. All school rules will be reviewed by a Students-Parents Advisory Committee with appropriate recommendations. There will be an annual review of all the school rules.

8. The right of the student to participate in school-sponsored intramurals programs.

9. In concurrence with the student population ratio, three members will be elected to the School Board of Joint School District #8 by the people of Menominee County.

10. In grades One (1) through Five (5), in Menominee County the maximum class load will be no more than 25 students.

11. In Pre-kindergarten and Kindergarten classes in Menominee County, the maximum class load will be no more than 20 students.

12. Senior High School administration will offer one semester elective course in History of the American Indian, and that this material will also be emphasized in the elementary and Junior High social studies courses.

13. All potential teachers for Public Schools in Menominee County will be interviewed by a parent selection committee who will make their recommendation to the School Board.

14. Only degreed teachers will be hired by the School District for the Public schools in Menominee County. Any exceptions must be approved by the parent selection committee.

15. The assignment of intern teachers to be continued and expanded inasmuch as they contribute new ideas and teaching techniques, and that their intership will be in accordance with the guidelines established by teacher training institutions.
16. No student will be suspended unless his presence would endanger safety and well-being of other students or school personnel.
17. The School District establish an on-going in-service Sensitivity Training Program for all administrators and teachers in the School District.
18. Evening hours will be made available for Parent-Teacher conference in all grades.
19. An Advisory Committee shall be established to review and recommend existing and proposed Federal and/or State School Programs dealing with money and/or personnel.

Menominee County Parents and Students
Committee for Better Education
(April, 1969)

This statement of alleged fact and recommended action by concerned Menominee parents and children was part of a large and growing ferment over the condition of Menominee Indian education during the fieldwork aspects of this project.

The activities of the parents and students committee, together with other tensions between Menominees and local Whites, produced some problems for our fieldworkers. At one point, Ms. Sherarts appealed directly to one group of faculty, with good results for the project:

THE NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

April 30, 1969

An Open letter to the Franklin teachers:

Today Mr._____ met with Mr.______ and myself to discuss some concerns you as teachers have regarding the National Study of American Indian Education. I feel these concerns are important and should be discussed.

First, there is a rumor that information from the questionnaires and the interviews is being discussed with people in Shawano and Menominee County. I want to assure you that these rumors are untrue and, indeed, if true, would indicate unethical behavior on the part of Mr. _______ and myself. The tapes and questionnaires are en route to the University of Minnesota where they will be coded, and no names are need after coding. Only the secretary who transcribes the tape will hear the interview, and at transcription all interviews will be coded and will not be identifiable by individual names. The information contained in the tapes and in the questionnaires is indeed confidential. I want to assure you that this confidence has not and will not be violated by either Mr. _____ or myself.

Second, there is some concern that this study is connected with the Menominee County Parents Group. This study is in no way connected with the parent group; it is a National Study of American Indian Education funded by the federal Office of Education. The University of Minnesota has been asked to conduct some of the field work in this study and that work is supervised by Dr. Arthur Harkins at the University.

I hope these statements clarify any concerns you may have. If you have further questions on these or any other matters pertaining to the study please contact me in Shawano at 526-4818.

I want to thank you for the time you have given to this study and also the excellent cooperation you have given Mr. _______ and myself.

Mrs. Karon Sherarts
Field Work Administrator, National
Study of American Indian Education

## III

## JOINT DISTRICT NUMBER EIGHT BACKGROUND FACTORS

In a field study conducted by Mr. John Tomasich Jr. in the spring of 1966[10], the author summarized the major features of Joint District No. 8 as an aspect of his study. With Mr. Tomasich's permission, the next several pages reproduce his conclusions about the significant features of Joint District No. 8:[11]

### Summary

Joint School District No. 8, became consolidated on July 1, 1950, by combining 31 independent school districts, some of which operated high schools, others elementary schools, and some districts which did not operate a school.

All of Menominee County and parts of the towns of Washington were attached to the school district at a later date.

Prior to the formulation of the boundaries of Joint School District No. 8, many meetings were held and the ground work for consolidation was developed and set into motion. From the onset Joint School District No. 8 operated as a joint venture between the townships, the city and the villages, and later Menominee County.

The district continued to attach near-by areas until its final attachment of an area which was part of Joint School District No.1, the village of Cecil et al.

Throughout the years the school board remained fairly stable with many of the original members having long term tenure. Since July 1962, there has been a greater turn over in the membership of the Board due to deaths, resignations, and elections. However, the basic concept of the Board and its relationship to the schools, and the total educational process and staff of the school has remained constant.

The Board has been conservative in nature, yet aggressive wherever new programs or innovations were proved to be effective for good education.

The census for the school district has shown that the school district is growing in population but not at an accelerated pace. There was a large fluctuation of students in the 1961 school year due to the attachment of Menominee County. Prior to this time some of the Menominee students were attending school at Shawano, Suring, and Antigo. There are at the present time students in the Shawano schools with the exception of the children that are in licensed foster homes which are considered tuition students for state aid payment.

The enrollment of the parochial schools within the district also shows a steady increase until the 1962-63 school year when it begins to show a decrease. The decrease in parochial school children is primarily a decrease in the enrollment in the parochial schools in Menominee County.

The school district at the present time has 6 central buildings, 13 area schools and 6 rented rooms which they are operating. There are approximately 321 children that should be considered excess enrollment in publicly owned buildings, 13 area schools which are considered inadequate for present day educational requirements, and 6 rented rooms. This would leave the school district with a housing problem for 885 children.

There are 148 teaching staff members in the school district, 8 full-time administrators and approximately 44 non-certified personnel working in the district. The salaries for teachers compare favorably with schools in cities the size of Shawano. Historically, the teachers and Board of Education have enjoyed a good working relationship with regards to salary, fringe benefits and working conditions. Due to the cooperation that has been shown on the part of the Board of Education and the Shawano Education Association, it can be expected that this cooperation will continue in the future. The school district made every endeavor to hire degree teachers; however, with the 13 area schools being one room schools located in the country, it has been difficult to hire degree people, and, therefore, non-degree people have been hired. The quality of the non-degree people has been good to excellent and compares favorably with the quality of the degree teachers.

There are 8 full-time administrators in the district with most administrators relatively new to the positions within the district. This is due to retirements, resignations, and the creation of two new positions. It can be expected that the administrator staff now within the school district will accumulate years of experience in the school district and will solidify after the administrative positions are clearly established and defined.

Due to the many Federally sponsored programs, titles and duties of administrators must be considered fluid at the present time.

The equalized valuation of Joint School District No. 8 parallels with the rise of the municipalities which comprise Joint School District No. 8. The equalized valuation has not gained dramatically, instead, has been a consistent and well-established raise.

The school district at the present time has $414,216.00 in long term debt. All of the long term notes will have been paid in the 1967-68 school year, and the bonded indebtedness will have its last payment in the 1974-75 school year. Unless additional long term debt or bondedness is entered into, the long term outstanding debt will become a negligible factor in the near future.

In the last three school years, the district tax levy on equalized valuation has remained fairly constant. Prior to that time, the tax levy showed an orderly increase without hampering the educational program.

The cost per child on average daily membership figures has remained fairly constant since the 1962-63 school year. Total expenditures for the district have risen due to the increase in average daily membership within the school district. Due to a change in the accounting structure developed on a state level it was necessary to go back three years and re-define the operational accounts in order to compare the average cost per student on an average daily membership basis. The establishment of clearing accounts which are self-liquidating and defining the chart of accounts will give a clearer picture of the average cost per student in the future.

## IV

## TITLE THREE PROJECT

On June 15, 1969 Joint District No. 8 submitted a proposal to the United States government (USOE) for funds under Title III, of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The purpose of the project, in brief, was to "identify elements in the school programs preventing Indian children from achieving at the levels of non-Indian children; [to apply] this information [by developing] empathy with the Indian's way of life and his need to build a self-concept, so he will value his cultural heritage and acquire the skill to contribute to the total society." These goals were to be met by several basic techniques: through developing "teacher competence and diagnosis;" through "prescription and evaluation of individual learning;" and be developing ways of identifying and utilizing "the resources of the Indian community" to plan and operate the instructional program. The document contained, in its early pages, additional background material on School District No.8 and alluded to certain problems in the receipt and conduct of a Federal grant for computer-assisted instruction of Menominee Indian chidlren.

The computer-assisted instruction project for Menominee Indian children to which the Title III application document refers created a large-scale stir among many Indian and non-Indian Americans interested in Menominee education. The House of Representatives published a full report of their investigation of this project entitled "Operations of Office of Education (Conflict of Interest --Proposed Grant for Computerized Classroom)." Prior to the completion of this House document, however, the New Republic printed an article in its June 17, 1967 issue entitled "Fifteen Little Indians". This article summarized the situation as follows:

> The one substandard reason for financing this project is the government's interest in building up the education industry; in this instance, picking up Westinghouse's development cost so it can compete with other companies like IBM, which the U.S. also finances.

The New Republic article went on to describe the background conditions of Menominee education (to its own satisfaction) and to suggest what should be done with the application for Federal funds in this case:

> The Menominee Indians are a depressed lot. Their reservation was closed down in 1961 as part of another experiment. The Government wanted to end the "Indian problem" by pushing Indians off the reservation and into the mainstream of American life. As a result, the once prosperous Menominee lumber company is close to bankruptcy. For several years the Indians have begged the Government for $5 million dollars in funds to modernize the lumber mill, but without success. The Government should improve education among the Menominee Indians. As part of improvement, computers can be of some use. But first the Indians ought to have equal representation on the Shawano school board, if not a school board for their own county; then they should have better teachers and facilties, and, along with these reforms, real economic development.

> It would be a mistake for the Government to give Westinghouse $2 million under the guise of assisting Indians (or for that matter, under the guise of aiding research), when the real purpose is something quite different -- enhancing competition among large corporations anxious to get a foothold -- at public expense -- in the new business of electronic education.

During the fieldwork phase, it was stated by several persons familiar with the Menominee County Indian education picture that the Title III application submitted by Joint School District No. 8 was allowed as a face-saving move by the USOE and the Wisconsin Department of Public Construction, and as a means of placating those Indians and non-Indians in the State who were expecting Federal assistance of some kind for Menominee Indian education. This particular incident, together with others, apparently helped to create the social climate which produced, among other things, the forceful statement of of concern produced by Menominee Indian parents and children.

## V

## INFLUENTIAL PERSONS AND MENOMINEE EDUCATION

Most of the influential persons (some parents, principals, counselors, program directors, school board members, etc.) we talked with were well-informed about Menominee lifestyles and the problems of Indian education. This was the case both for Indians and Whites. But, as we found elsewhere in our research (the Twin Cities, Prairie Island, White Earth, etc.),few were able to suggest coherent programmatic and structural changes in school and community to remedy things. The "band aid" approach typified the well-meant attempts of many influential persons to improve Indian education. An example of this style appears below, through materials excerpted from a lengthy interview with a sensitive female worker (White) in the Menominee Community Action Program:

> Interviewer: What do you consider some of the problems of educating Indian children?
>
> Rather than tell you what I think are some of the problems in educating the Indian children in our County, maybe I could kind of relay to you some of the feelings that have been expressed by County residents to our Outreach workers.
>
> First of all, when we started the Outreach program, just about a year ago, we ourselves didn't think to go into the school proper to talk with the administration officials or teachers or school personnel. We'd been in the field for three or four months before one of the visiting teachers brought it our attention that we'd never even been over to the school ourselves. If this is any indication of the way people here feel, and they feel kind of a separatism, and it should have occured to me to visit the school . . . we visited everything else, that we should have also visited the school. But we didn't. So after this, we did start talking with both the public and parochial principals and teachers and counselors . . . I suppose because our workers became more aware of education problems they began speaking and listening in the field for other indications of problems in educating Indian children.

The problem that would come to my mind would be that many Indians particularly those in the poverty level, who haven't made it, in our terms, or maybe even in their own . . . tend not to think of the school as part of their community lives. In other words, the school is something sort of separate to them. This sort of enhances or induces a kind of separatism in the family: the child goes to school for six or eight hours, and, because the parent isn't really familiar with school functions, and manners and ways of doing things, or even with the subject matter that the child is being taught, the parent isn't really in a position to listen well to the child, or be involved with him, as far as education is concerned. He may care very much that the child goes to school and that the child learns well, but he isn't really involved himself enough in the learning process to be really involved as an integral part of this system.

I think another problem is that the Indian is extremely sensitive to any hints of what he feels are prejudice or discrimination. Because of this, and, for many other reasons, they may be reluctant to go into the school and speak with teachers or the principal. They'll be reluctant to the point that the child is so in trouble that things are pretty well irrevocable, and at that point it's too late. I think the Indians' reluctance to go in and speak, and I suppose the school's reluctance to get involved with the parents create many problems on both sides. Some of it is lack of communication. This causes a great deal of misunderstanding and resentment and increased sensitivity on both sides. I don't believe that there necessarily would be any problems in educating an Indian child as long as it were a middle class Indian child! I'm certain that the school is probably not aware of many of the problems that the children face at home or in their community living. Like, six weeks ago, we previewed some Headstart films, and it showed a little girl brushing her teeth in a lovely tiled bathroom with all the fixtures and all the plumbing. This film will be shown in our County also. What the school doesn't realize is that the whole bathroom, the tiles the fixtures, is completely foreign to this child, who may still be using outside facilities, and brushing their teeth at the pump. Because the experience of the film is almost irrelevant, so is brushing your teeth going to be. I think there's a problem here, and that the school needs to use examples and illustrations that are applicable to the child's life, and not something that's entirely in left field.

Interviewer: Do you think that most of the parents are satisfied with the education of their children and the ways the schools are run?

I think most of the parents are not satisfied, and I'm sure some are very satisfied. I suppose if your child does very well in school, you're very satisfied. But a comparitively small percentage of our children do well in school. I think many parents recognize that there are problems in educating their children, and because the parents own educational achievement level has been low. Historically, they may not be in a position to strongly motivate their children because they themselves might not value academic education the way the White middle class society tends to value it. I would have to say that I feel that most parents are not satisfied. Either with what their children are learning in school, or with the system itself. I think the fact that two or 300 parents met because they were concerned would indicate that they felt their were some problems in educating our kids.

Interviewer: Do you feel that this parent group has a reason for existing?

I do. Any group of people who meet together because they have a common problem have a reason for existing, whether the school chooses to admit this, or whether I choose to admit this. If they think it has a reason for existing, therefore it does.

Interviewer: Do you feel that this group has had a positive effect in involving the parents.

Yes, I feel that it has. At least people have gotten together and talked about something that people have been kind of shoving under the rug. It's just easier not to face an issue than to face it, and decide whether you like it or not and perhaps want to make some changes. So I think to this degree it's been positive. In a sense, I suppose we'll see some negative effects, in that any group of parents meeting is going to cause ripples both in the community because they're going to be people who disagree, who say the school is just fine, and this is certainly . . . they're entitled to their opinion also. I think it's probably going to have some temporary negative effects as far as the Shawano community is concerned, in that a group of parents meeting also on school issues presents a potential threat to the school system.

Interviewer: Have any of these things occured?

I think they have . . . some indications might be: there was a Menominee group that went down to the school board and said that they did not want to be considered part of the concerned parents and students group and that they felt that the school was doing fine. This is certainly all right, also . . . it's too bad that they didn't come to the concerned parents meeting initially and tell their own people this, instead of going to the school board. The other indications of perhaps some negative feelings in Shawano will be that people have asked me "What's going on up in the County" People . . . White people especially, in Shawano, are used to the Indian not saying much . . . not arguing, not dissenting . . . if the Indian disagrees, generally, he'll walk away, he'll be quiet. This is accepted among Indians, but the White people don't understand this, and take it as a non-concern or a lack of interest, when simply the Indian is not embarrassing himself or the other person by disagreeing. This kind of upset some people's image of their stereotyped Indian. And people react, sometimes very strongly to this.

Interviewer: Do you feel that there is some prejudice and things going on in the school in Shawano, making it more difficult for Indian students to go to school?

Yes, I think not only because of prejudice . . .whether the prejudice exists or not really isn't as important as whether the Indian feels it exists. So probably many things the Indian says are prejudice or 'he doesn't like me because I'm Indian' . . . the teacher may not like a student because they just may not agree, not because he's Indian. The Indian will attribute this to his Indianness. Of course, historically, and I think if you listen for it, you can see it. Parents, because they have many negative feelings about White people, and maybe have a poor image of themselves, or a poor self-concept, tend to teach this to their children, and the children pick this up at a very early age, and become increasingly sensitive. I think also, to be honest, it would have to be admitted that teachers view Indian students as Indian students . . . and I think this is understandable . . . they're conspicuous, they're darker complected, darker haired . . . because the school system probably in the past had some bad experiences as far as understanding Indian children, that there would be a prejudice, and maybe a well founded one, on the school's part. And this makes it difficult for the Indian to learn.

Interviewer: Do you feel that the teachers have a good understanding of the Indian students and some of their home and family problems?

I think perhaps some do. Probably more don't. They understand the Indian child if the Indian child reacts as the White child reacts and if his family background is similar. I don't think they understand that the child who acts in an opposite manner, or unlike a White child. I think they would have difficulty understanding unless they came up and spent some time in the County. Working with the people here, directly, seeing some of their living conditions, overcrowded families, some families which are disorganized in our terms, or certainly not organized in the way the WMC wants to see things.

Interviewer: Should teachers of Indian children have special training?

I feel that teachers of any minority group children should have some -- and I don't mean classroom training -- I mean some field experience with that minority group before they attempt to teach them. Maybe we're all in error to a degree, in working with poverty people, in that we want them to change our way . . . we don't to teach Indianness, we want to teach Whiteness. We want to give the kind of education that we feel is good for everybody . . . this may not be the answer. The Indian child or any minority child may be incapable of learning in the way that teachers have been taught to teach.

Interviewer: Study of Indian life should be included?

I feel it should be offered, certainly as an elective subject. I don't believe that many subjects should be offered as required. I think there should be greater freedom of choosing curriculum. I think it should be offered to people just as Wisconsin history should be. But on an elective basis.

Interviewer: Indians should have an important say in decisions regarding education?

Yes, I feel that they should have, just as any parents should have. Somehow, over the years, it seems to me that we've relegated an awful lot of responsibility to school boards and school officials, and then when we don't like what they're doing, we get up in arms about it, and start yelling. And yet, largely, I think this is our fault, and maybe the fault of the Indians, in that, in the past, he hasn't expressed or been able to express a real interest in his child's education, in our terms. So now, when they see some injustices, and there have been injustices, they're very angry, and they're beginning to express the anger, rather than . . . it would have been nice twenty years ago, or five years ago, at termination, had they been able to go down to the schools and simply tell the school board something about themselves, their children, what they'd like their children to be learning, what they feel is important. Unfortunately, this didn't occur then, so this is what's happening now.

Interviewer: Is the school administration responsive to desires and demands of the Indian people?

No . . . collectively, I would have to say no. If the Indians can communicate in terms what the school administration can understand, they probably are responsive, or at least responsible to the greater degree than they are now . . . I think there's a great deal of fault on both sides. The school wants to run itself and have the parents agree with its procedure . . . this is understandable.

## VI

## MENOMINEE INDIAN PARENTS AND THE EDUCATION OF THEIR CHILDREN

Eleven Menominee women interviewed one hudred and forty nine Menominee parents whose children attended one or more of the following schools: School A, School B, Middle School, High School, Parochial School or Miscellaneous (other District Eight Schools) during February, March, April and May of 1969. Interviewers were selected with the help of the Menominee County Community Action Program. As preparation for their work, the women attended several training sessions to acquaint them with the National Study of American Indian Education (NSAIE), the interview schedules, ways of interviewing, and the importance of keeping respondents comments confidential. The women made several good suggestions for revising the schedules and for gathering interviews.

Interviewers were given lists of parents whose children attended the schools studied. These lists were compiled from the schools' enrollment cards. They were also given a card signed by the NSAIE field director and superintendant of District Eight Schools to identify themselves to participants. The women interviewed as many parents as possible from all areas of the County. In addition to a salary, they were paid mileage.

Interviewers found most parents receptive and very interested in schools and anxious to participate in the interview. Questions concerning home life were least favorable received. A few parents found them especially offensive:

> These questions are an invasion of privacy! They look as though some 'long-haired professor' needs another study grant and I resent this use of my money as a taxpayer!

The timing of data collection was excellent. In March, Menominee Parents and Students for Better Education was formed as a power base for getting District Schools to adopt changes which Menominee people viewed as necessary. The controversy stimulated community interest in education.

The education levels of respondents ranged from third grade to college. Twenty percent of the males and of the females had completed eighth grade; twenty percent of each sex had graduated from High School. Nearly equal proportions had attended vocational schools or college. Over all males had slightly lower educational levels.

Educational Levels of Menominee Parents

| Educational Level Completed | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| Third | 1-1% | |
| Fourth | 1-1% | |
| Fifth | 1-1% | |
| Sixth | 4-3% | 7-5% |
| Seventh | 3-2% | 2-1% |
| Eighth | 31-21% | 30-20% |
| Ninth | 11-7% | 20-13% |
| Tenth | 11-7% | 20-13% |
| Eleventh | 12-8% | 21-14% |
| High School Graduate | 30-20% | 30-20% |
| Some vocational | 8-5% | 7-5% |
| Some College | 3-2% | 2-1% |

* * *

Respondents had most often received all (26%) or part of their education (28%) at one of the two parochial schools located in Menominee County. Twelve percent reported attending only District Eight Schools, others (18%) had transferred from Menominee County Parochial Schools to Public Schools (usually those administered by District Eight) to complete High School. Nine percent of the respondents had gone to BIA schools including Haskell and Flandreau.

Sixty nine percent of the mothers were not employed outside the home. Most of those who worked were employed within Menominee County; six percent were employed by CAP, six percent by District Eight Schools, five percent by the Child Development Center, five percent did secretarial work. Only one mother held a professional position, Director of the Child Development Center. Other occupations included postal clerk, waitress, factory work, tavern keeper, student, teachers aid, etc.

Approximately thirty six percent of the fathers worked in Menominee County, forty percent were employed outside the County. The most frequent types of employment included: some aspect of logging at Menominee Enterprises (19%), laborer (19%), factory work (18%), machine operator (6%), welder (6%), law enforcement (4%), maintenance (3%), mechanic (3%) and carpenter (3%). One percent of the men were unemployed, two percent were disabled, and five percent were retired. Four percent were deceased.

Fifteen percent of the males had no military experiences. Twenty eight percent had belonged to the armed services, usually in the army.

Data on Menominee home life was not complete, nor was it designed to permit indepth analyses and conclusions about Menominee life styles. Data suggested some of the standards of behavior Menominee parents expected of their children, some types of familiy activities and that Menominee parents were very concerned about their children's present and future lives.

Respondents briefly described values and standards of behavior they taught their children as well as methods for demonstrating approval and disapproval of various behaviors.

Most Menominee parents stressed independence ("teaching children to take care of themselves"), responsibility, and good interpersonal relationships ("getting along with others", "respect for others") in child rearing. Children were expected to help with some aspects of housework (empty garbage, bring in wood, do dishes, keep their room clean, help cook, etc.)

> What things do your children learn at home with the family?
>
> Everything that we can teach them to make them better people to live with. How to be dependable.
>
> Good behavior and to respect their elders. Not to steal or lie. To accept responsibilities.
>
> How to be a responsible person. To respect all others and their property. Things that will make them better people.
>
> To get along with other kids. Manners and responsibility. How to handle money.
>
> How to get along with others. The good and evil of the world.
>
> We teach [our children] what is necessary to independent and responsible.
>
> To share and be considerate of each other. To do given chores on time and well. Neatness of self and surroundings.

Parents most frequently demonstrated approval by praising their children: "I tell them I'm proud of them." "I tell them and admire what they did." "I tell them I'm glad." Additional privileges [e.g. "going to a movie"], rewards, [getting one extra treat, having a friend stay over or getting extra allowance] also indicated parental approval.

Methods of Demonstrating Approval

| | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Praise | 68 | 46% |
| Extra Privileges | 3 | 2% |
| Reward | 8 | 5% |
| Treats | 3 | 2% |
| Praise and Reward | 8 | 5% |
| Method not indicated | 10 | 7% |
| No Data | 48 | 32% |

Most respondents (87%) who discussed their methods of disciplining children did not use physical punishment. To demonstrate disapproval parents generally talked to their children ["I tell them why it is wrong and what the consequences would be if they do it again." "I talk to her or if necessary, a mild punishment. We do not spank her."] took away pleasurable things (i.e. toys, movies) or privileges, deducted from their allowances, sent them to bed or grounded them. One fourth of the respondents spanked their children under some circumstances. Loss of privileges was most often used with Middle School and High School age children.

All parents reported that their children participated in family activities. Teenagers appeared to participate in family activities less than elementary school children. All children helped with household duties [chopping wood, doing dishes, helping prepare meals, emptying garbage, pick up toys, help with house cleaning].

Families watched TV together, played together, went to movies, went shopping, picniced, swam (etc.). A few families regularly traveled to other Indian communities.

All parents knew something about their children's lives inside and outside the home. They were aware of and interested in each child's general school progress, friendships and other activities.

Data concerning parents' efforts to socialize their children into Menominee Culture were not precise. Questions designed to collect this data proved inadequate; the authors regard the following discussion as incomplete. Most parents said they did nothing to aid their children in learning about Menominee culture. [When asked whether Menominee language and/or culture should be included in school curricula; many parents strongly approved and indicated that they lacked this knowledge and therefore could not teach their children]. Twenty three percent attempted to teach their children about Menominee ways.

Most parents (83%) placed high value on formal education. This attitude was often reflected in parents' aspirations for their children. Fifty-four percent expected a minimum high school graduation; twelve percent expected their children to attend vocational school and eleven percent wanted their children to obtain college degrees.

Fourteen percent of the respondents indicated some concern for formal education. They wanted their children to attend school but did not appear to have particular expectations for their children in terms of educational level. Participants also appeared to give less encouragement to their children in school.

A few parents (2%) felt there was little value in formal education. They did not care whether or not their children attended school and gave them no encouragement.

Parents with older children [in Middle School, High School or Parochial] wanted high school and higher education for their children. At least eighty percent of the parents with children in the following schools expected their children's minimum education to be high school graduation: A/Middle School (85%); B/Middle School (80%); A/High School (100%); B/High School (100%); High School (82%); A/Middle School/High School (83%); B/Middle School/High School (100%); Middle School/High School (100%); Parochial (87%) and Parochial/High School (80%). Parents with children in Middle School (only) placed the least value on formal education (63%). Three-fourths of parents with children in public elementary schools valued education. College education was most often expected by parents of children in school A/Middle School (31%).

Forty-three percent of the parents who were interviewed thought formal education might influence their children's adult life. However, their conceptualizations of the effects were vague and undeveloped.

Fifty percent of the respondents saw a concrete relationship between education and adulthood. Of these, thirty six percent believed higher education levels would enable their children to obtain good jobs.

Fifteen percent were convinced formal education would create a life style for their children which differed from that of many Indians of from the life styles their children would experience without education.

Parents with children in School A and Middle School (46%) and Parochial and High School (40%) most frequently regarded education as affecting employment and life style. Education was considered least important by Middle School (75%) and School A-Middle School parents.

Thirty-five percent (52) of the respondents considered Menominee language useless. They did not want their children to learn thelanguage in school and suggested no alternative environments in which knowledge of Menominee language could be acquired. Parents based their opinion on their perception of the uselessness of Menominee language, (N=22) lack of qualified teachers (N=19) and difficulty of the language (N=11)

Some parents (21%) expressed indifferent or ambivalent attitudes about the value of Menominee language. Their opinions varied from uncertainty about whether the language was important, should be taught at school, or anywhere; to labeling Menominee uselss, but suggesting that opportunities [in and outside school] be available for children who wanted to learn Menominee.

Thirty-eight percent (57) of the respondents considered Menominee language as a very important and meaningful aspect of culture. They expressed strong desires for their children to become proficient speakers and hoped opportunities for learning Menominee could be created. Of the respondents who highly valued Menominee, eighty-five percent (48) wanted school curricula to include the language, and fifteen percent (9) felt "home" or other settings were more appropriate.

A few parents who wanted schools to teach Menominee language offered spontaneous suggestions for appropriately teaching the language. They specified grade levels, elective classes, Menominee instructors, and suggested teaching Menominee and English together.

Parents who did not want Menominee language taught in school suggested home, the visitation center or other unspecified locations as more appropriate learning environments.

Summary of Parental Attitudes Toward Tribal Language

| | N | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Negative Attitudes | 51 | 35 |
| Indifferent or ambivalent attitudes | 31 | 21 |
| Very positive attitudes | 57 | 38 |
| No Data | 10 | 7 |

Most parents (79%) valued Menominee culture as important and meaningful to themselves and their children. Of these, thirty-two percent expressed positive attitudes. Nearly half (47%) felt it was extremely important for children to know about Menominee culture.

A few parents (4%) expressed indifferent attitudes toward Menominee cultures.

Eight percent of the respondents labeled Menominee culture, "useless". They did not want their children to learn about their tribal heritage.

Most parents reported that their children were not taught about tribal culture at school. A few parents who had children in Schools A and B indicated that interns had endeavored to include some information about Menominee culture. Two parents (1%) felt schools should avoid mention of Menominee culture.

Eighteen percent of the respondents felt "home" was the best place for Menominee children to learn about their culture. Parents supported their opinions with three reasons; no qualified teachers, because Whites could not properly teach about Menominee Culture, and prejudice in the schools.

Most parents (75%) felt schools had an obligation to accurately include Menominee culture in their curricula. History, culture [legends, tribal religion, dancing, beading, values, material aspects] and language were suggested as course content.

Several parents gave spontaneous suggestions for the mechanics incorporating Menominee culture in school curricula. Some felt elementary curricula should teach tribal heritage, some considered high school an appropriate environment, others indicated culture should be taught throughout the years. Most parents felt the courses should be electives.

A few parents expressed concern that Menominee courses not replace other important academic courses.

Ten percent (10) of the respondents who wanted aspects of Menominee culture included in school curricula clearly specified that the teacher be Indian or Menominee.

Interestingly, parents with children in Miscellaneous Schools (40%), Middle School/High School (40%) and Middle School (38%) most often preferred to teach their children about tribal heritage. It is likely that parental perceptions of prejudice particularly at Middle School influenced their opinion.

Forty percent of the parents had not visited their children's school(s) during the 1968-69 academic year. Twenty-four percent had attended special conferences (held at the request of school personnel) to discuss problems a child was encountering at school.

Informal involvement in school affairs was reported by twenty-seven percent of the respondents. They had met teachers and visited school for a variety of reasons (conferences, open house, report card day) and some attended PTA irregularly.

A few parents (3%) were definitely involved in the affairs of Schools A and B and Parochial. In addition to visiting school, going to Open House and Parent-Teacher conferences they attended PTA and community educational meetings regularly.

Parents whose children attended Middle School or High School were least likely to have had contact with school personnel. School A parents were most likely to have contact with school personnel. Only parents whose children attended schools in Menominee County appeared to be involved in school affairs.

Respondents believed that they constituted a more powerful influence on school affairs as individuals than as an "Indian community". Eighty seven percent felt "the community" had "very little" or no influence on schools; however, only fifty seven percent believed that they (as individuals) had very little or no voice in the operation of school. Parents [as individuals] emerged as a more powerful force because those who attended PTA believed they had some influence in school affairs but more parents felt the "Indian community" and its interests were poorly represented by the School Board in general and in particular the member from Menominee County.

An equal percentage of respondents (26%) felt they as individuals and the "Indian community" possessed a meaningful voice in planning school policies and programs.

Twenty-six percent of the respondents reported that teachers had not contacted them. A few parents received telephone calls (3%) or notes (3%) from teachers. Fifteen percent had attended special conferences called by a teacher. Teachers talked with one-fourth of the parents (informally) during school meetings (i.e. PTA, Open House, etc.). Seven percent had met teachers (informally) outside of school and in school. Two or more types of teacher contact were reported by thirteen percent; notes and special conferences (2%); special conferences and informal meetings at school (2%); notes and special conferences, informal meeting at school (1%);notes, teacher visited parent (1%); telephones, informal meeting at school, teacher visited parent (1%).

Most parents had children in more than one school. For clarity, when parents who addressed teacher quality of two or more schools, their comments on individual schools were separated.

Parents had more contacts with and better knowledge of the schools in Menominee County [School A, School B and Parochial]. However a few parents in all schools felt unable to comment on teacher quality.

More respondents felt Middle School teachers (55%) and High School (31%) were poor. Among their criticisms of teachers were prejudice directed at Menominee students, large class size, and failure to understand Menominee youth and the needs of individual students. Parochial teachers were given the most positive ratings; good (58%) excellent (14%). Teachers at Schools A,B and High School were most likely to be considered "okay". Respondents felt these teachers were not good, neither were they poor; they were just satisfactory.

## Parental Ratings of Teacher Performance

Respondents discussed the qualities of a good teacher. These included interest in children in her(his) class (13%-20), understanding (14%-22), patience (5%-8), recognition of the individuality of students (5%-8), respect for students and/or parents (4%-6), no prejudice or discrimination toward Menominee students (13%-20), spending extra time with students who need help, (3%-4), getting along with students (5%-7), teaching effectively (6%-9), maintaining contact with parents (4%-6) and keeping control or discipline among students (10%-14). [No data were available for seventeen percent (25) of the respondents] Parents were very concerned with teachers attitudes toward students. A good teacher should treat children with respect, demonstrate no prejudice, recognize individuality, be understanding and patient and have an interest in children and an ability to get along with them.

## Menominee Parents' Contact With and Evaluation of School Administration

Thirty percent of the respondents reported having private conferences with school administrators. Over half (58%) had never met the principal(s) of their children's schools, eleven percent could not identify the principal(s) by name. Parents who had conferences were most likely to perceive principals as interested in their opinions. Respondents who had no contact with principals were more likely to perceive them as disinterested.

Most respondents rated the administration of Schools A and B as satisfactory. Ninety percent of the respondents with children in High School regarded that school's administration as "very poor". They believed these principals demonstrated prejudice toward Menominee children and were not interested in parents' opinions. The Middle School administration was considered "poor" by two-thirds of the respondents [whose children attended the school] and satisfactory by one-third. Parochial School's administration was rated as "very good". Miscellaneous was regarded as satisfactory.

School Board Contact and Evaluation

Nearly half (42%) of the parents regularly voted in School Board elections. Thirty-six percent had not voted in the last election. A few parents didn't vote because they felt the election was rigged [against the Indian candidates] or because there was no good candidate to support. Generally lack of transportation, new residence in the County or lack of information about the election were circumstances which prevented parents from voting. Most often parents said they voted to get Menominee representation on the Board.

Half of the respondents (55%-82) had no contact with School Board members. Twenty four percent (23) had discussed their concerns about education with someone on the Board.

Parents who had talked with Board members were most likely to perceive the Board as interested in Menominees opinions about education (57%). They also viewed the Board as disinterested more frequently than respondents who had not met Board members.

Nearly half of the parents believed the School Board was doing a "very poor" or "poor" job of running District Eight Schools. Their most frequent criticism involved insufficient representation of Menominees' on the Board and/or insensitivity to the needs and concerns of Indian children. One-fourth assessed the Board as "OK". They regarded the Board's performance as barely satisfactory. Fifteen percent believed the Board was "good" and acted in the best interests of Menominees. None of the respondents felt the board was excellent or that they were well represented on the Board.

## Parents' Evaluation of School Curricula

Nearly all respondents (97%) appeared to have given consideration to the educational needs of their children.

In the overall evaluation of curriculum, respondents most often recommended curricular changes in Parochial (57%), Middle School (33%), and High School (36%). The necessity for changes in classroom or school structure were most frequently cited by High School (25%) and Middle School (13%) parents. A few respondents felt the values transmitted in school curriculum should be changed. Overall dissatisfaction with curriculum was most often expressed toward School A and High School.

Respondents evaluated the degree to which schools met their children's educational needs. They did not define education in the narrow sense, but broadly. Parents felt curriculum and teacher attitudes in High School (15%) and Middle School (40%) most often failed to meet the needs of their children. All respondents with exceptional children enthusiastically believed that the Special Education curriculum [at Middle School] met their children's educational needs. One third of the parents felt the curricula or methods of Schools A and B did not meet their children's educational requirements. All Miscellaneous respondents appeared satisfied with the affect of school curricula. One half of Parochial parents felt curriculum needed changes but that teachers and methods were appropriate.

## Parental "Likes" and "Dislikes" About Schools

The attitudes Middle School and High School personnel held toward Menominee students greatly concerned respondents. Forty three percent of the respondents with children in Middle School believed that school personnel and/or policies discriminated against Indian enrollees. Thirty nine percent of High School parents believed High School personnel and/or policies were prejudiced against their children. The authors suspect the percentage of respondents would have been considerably larger if parents had been asked whether or not District or Parochial School personnel or policies were prejudiced against Menominees. However, in the data we have discussed this question was not asked, rather parents spontaneously made statements indicating the existence of prejudice in the schools included in the study.

At least twenty five percent of the respondents with children in Middle School and High School believed the schools rules were too strict or unfairly enforced [i.e., the rules and violations of the rules were more frequently felt by Indian than White students].

Parents with children in the following schools; A (14%), Middle (18%) and Parochial (14%) and Miscellaneous (38%) most often complained about the negative effects other children had on their children. Behaviors mentioned were learning to swear, stealing, disrespect, a feeling of inferiority due to contact with White children and White children initiating fights. Some respondents especially like the fact that in Middle School and High School their children were coming in contact with and learning to get along with White children.

A few parents commented on the hot lunch programs offered in the schools. Those who liked the program mentioned its convenience and quality. Respondents who disliked the program objected to its quality and/or the cost of lunches.

Parents who disliked bus transportation were especially concerned about the fighting which occured during transportation and the drivers' inability to properly control the behavior of his passengers.

Over half of the respondents with children in Middle School (56%) and High School (69%) objected to the location of these schools. Most of these parents wanted a Middle School and High School in Menominee County. They backed their desire with comments about prejudice in Middle School and High School or these schools failure in meeting the needs of Menominee youth.

## VII

## THE EDUCATION OF MENOMINEE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN (PUBLIC SCHOOLS)

Field work for the national study of American Indian Education (NSAIE) was conducted at Schools A and B during April and May, of 1969. These schools were the District Eight elementary schools located in Menominee County. Menominee children accounted for ninty five percent of the student body in both schools.

Extensive data were collected on students in these schools: draw-a-man (grades 1-5), student questionnaire (School A grades 3-5, School B grade 5) semantic differential (fifth grade Schools A and B), achievement test data (Schools A and B grades 1-5) and an interview (School A grades 3-5, School B grade 5).

Eighty seven Menominee children from schools A and B were interviewed. Most, sixty nine, were from School A.

Number and Percent* of Interviews by School and Grade

| School A | | | School B | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Third | Fourth | Fifth | Fifth | |
| 21-24% | 24-28% | 24-28% | 18-21% | 87-100% |

*Percent of total sample (87).

At least eighty five percent of the students from each of the grade levels indicated were interviewed. Forty two percent of the respondents were male, fifty-seven percent were female.

## Sex of Menominee Respondents

| | School A | | | School B | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Third | Fourth | Fifth | Fifth | |
| Males | 7 | 11 | 9 | 10 | 37-42% |
| Females | 14 | 13 | 15 | 8 | 50-57% |

All children, identified their tribe as Menominee. One child also indicated Potawatomi.

Children appeared to enjoy being interviewed. They were confortable and many requested to listen to parts of their recorded interviews. Many children stopped the fieldworker in the halls of their school to ask when they would be interviewed. Two children at School A did not wish to be interviewed. Teachers at Schools A and B were very helpful to the fieldworkers in scheduling interview times and releasing children for interviews.

Nearly half the students (48%-42) had attended other schools. Most of these children had gone to other schools in Menominee County (23%-20) or in the area i.e. Gillet, Shawano, Antigo (8%-7). The remaining seventeen percent (15) had attended schools in Chicago, California, Milwaukee, or Green Bay.

Thirty one percent of the Menominee students interviewed had attended their present school since kindergarten. Third graders most frequently reflected this attendance pattern.

The atmosphere of both elementary schools was tense. Tension was apparent between groups of teachers within each school who had different teaching philosophies, between children, between teachers and the school structure, between parents and the school system, between factions within the total communities, and between the principal who served each school on a half-time basis and teachers, and between the elementary school administration and District Eight's administration. Many teachers were unable to communicate with or understand their Menominee students.

When the researcher entered either school, this atmosphere was readily communicated. The interactions of tensions created stress in the children. Many children appeared very nervous, had difficulty concentrating (though they tried) and in a constant state of anxiety wondering when they would be yelled at or disciplined by teachers. Several fights occurred between children each day. Children teased each other frequently, and often made fun of their teachers. In the classroom it sometimes appeared as if teachers and children egged each other on. Although children displayed less-acting out behavior at School B, perhaps this was because the school was more tightly structured than School A. Often, when the researcher walked into School B she would see children standing in the hall with their hands placed against the walls as punishment for misbehavior in the classroom or on the playground. School A appeared more chaotic. However, the tension levels, in both schools seemed nearly equal. It was a though frustration and hostilities were beginning to surface at School A and had not yet done so at School B. Most children in both schools felt "too much" fighting occurred between children.

Aspects of the school structures and the relationship between teachers and students appeared detrimental to the education of Menominee children. The reader is referred to School Teachers and the Education of Menominee Indian Children: A Study of Two Elementary Schools, Training Center for Community Programs, September, 1970, for a more complete discussion of these matters.

The authors are concerned about the transfer of Menominee childrens' transition from an Indian school to an integrated situation in grades six through twelve. Although Menominee fifth graders had a picnic with White fifth graders many students continued to express considerable anxiety about attending Middle School. Perhaps more contact with Middle School would reduce Menominee childrens' anxiety.

After completing fifth grade students at Schools A and B were transferred to Middle School (in Shawano) or other schools in District Eight to continue their education. Most fifth grade students were transfering to Middle School. Sixteen percent (4) from School A and five percent (1) from School B had selected other schools. Three of School A's fifth graders who expressed very negative attitudes about Middle School appeared relieved that they would not be attending the school.

Fifty eight percent of School A fifth graders and eighty three percent of School B's planned to attend Middle School in the fall. At both schools half the children expressed considerable anxiety about the transfer. Of particular concern were orientation (getting lost, size of school), "Big people," kids, prejudice, White peers (especially their tendency to pick on Indians and instigate fights), teachers, and academic performance.

Children at School B appeared less anxious about attending Middle School. Twenty eight percnet (14) realized that life at Middle School would be problematic, they were concerned, but not anxious about it. Only eight percent (2) of School A fifth graders displayed this attitude.

## Educational and Occupational Aspirations

Overall fifty eight percent of Menominee children planned to graduate from high school, twenty one percent expressed interest in college and sixteen percent anticipated dropping out of school. Data were analyzed by sex. Significantly more girls (12%) than boys (2%) expected to drop out. An equal number of both sex planned on graduating. Boys were somewhat more interested in attending college.

When data were also analyzed by grade level of students a greater percentage of third graders (24%) anticipated quitting school. More fifth graders (School A - 25%, School B - 39%) planned college educations. Data were also analyzed by sex and grade level of respondents. Third grade boys (14%) and girls (28%) reported the highest potential drop out rates. In all grade levels girls projected higher drop out rates than boys. College aspirations were most frequently held by fifth graders at School B. In all grades except third, boys were more interested in college. More boys in fourth and fifth grades at School A planned to graduate from high school and more girls in School A's fourth grade and School B's fifth grade anticipated high school graduation.

Menominee children expressed several occupational aspirations. Girls most frequently wanted to be teachers or nurses. Boys responses were more diverse ranging from doctor to "logging man". More boys (19%) than girls (4%) "didn't know" what they wanted to be. Two children (a boy and a girl) hadn't thought about future occupations.

The responses of several children indicated a disparity between occupational aspirations and educational levels. For example, four boys had professional aspirations (lawyer, architect, doctor, astronaut) but only planned to graduate from high school. One boy wanted to be an engineer with a tenth grade education, another a mechanic with a college education. Girls' responses frequently indicated this disparity. Eleven planned professional careers (nurse, teacher, lawyer) with a high school diploma. Three girls expected to pursue professional careers without high school graduation. One girl wanted to be a "typist" after receiving a college degree.

## Perception of the Relationship Between Formal Education and Adulthood

A few children (4%) felt education would have no effect in adulthood. It was irrelevant and offered them nothing important. When asked, "What do you get out of school?", they responded, "Nothing". None of these children planned to complete high school.

Twelve percent thought education would be slightly important in adulthood. They know how education would affect their lives and did not give reasons for attending school.

Nearly half of the children believed education might be an important factor in adulthood. They were unable to explain how or why education would be important in their future.

Twenty-four percent of the respondents felt education was important because a good education would enable them to get good jobs. Very few students (5%) believed education would result in a future life style which would differ from that of many Indians and from the life styles of people without education.

School B fifth graders felt education was most important. Nearly half of School A's fifth grade felt education necessary for good employment. Third and fourth graders displayed the least well developed understanding of the relationships between education and adulthood.

## Students' Interest in the Academic Aspect of School

Six percent of the students were not interested in the academic aspect of school. They did not participate in classroom activities nor did they like any classes. These children had few friends and lived in fear of flunking. Teachers rated their performance as "low".

One fourth of the children expressed ambivalent attitudes about the academic aspect. Although they tended to prefer non-academic courses (music, art) they did not express strong attitudes (like or dislike) toward any aspect of the learning situation.

Half of the children appeared interested in academic work. They liked some subjects, disliked others and sometimes volunteered in class.

Eighteen percent were very interested in most of their courses. They liked at least three areas of study. Some disliked subjects. All volunteered in class and actively participated in activities.

Academic interest declined from a high point among third graders to a low point among fifth graders. Third graders were most interested in the academic aspect of school. None were disinterested. The highest percentage of disinterested students were fifth graders at School A. Ambivalent attitudes were more frequently expressed by fourth graders. Mild interest in learning was most often characteristics of School B fifth graders.

Menominee children were asked to indicate the subjects they liked and disliked. Non-Academic courses, language arts and math were most often enjoyed by Menominee students. Science and social studies appeared to be least well liked.

Teachers indicated the achievement levels of Menominee students. One third were ranked as high achievers, fifty six percent as average students and twenty one percent as low achievers. School B fifth graders were most frequently considered high achievers, and School A fourth graders represented the highest percentage of low achievers.

## Parental Attitudes Toward Formal Education

Six percent (5) of the Menominee children who were interviewed perceived their parents as uncommitted to formal education. Even when the interviewer probed about their parents interest in education by asking: "Do they ask about your work? Do you parents tell you how to behave" etc., these children reported that their parents told them "nothing" about school nor did their parents ask about school.

Nearly all children (eighty-seven percent - 76) felt their parents wanted them to receive an education. Their responses indicated varying levels of parental concern about education. Thirty-four percent (3) of the Menominee respondents indicated their parents were more concerned about behavior than achievement.

Fifty-one percent (45) of Menominee students thought their parents were most concerned about their academic performance.

## Parental Involvement in School Affairs

Six percent (5) of interviewees indicated their parents had not visited school or had any contact with their teachers.

Eight percent (9) of the respondents reported their parents visited school only at the request of teachers to discuss problems they were encountering.

Thirty-one percent (27) of the students indicated their parents were informally involved in school affairs. These parents came to school "to pay for lunch," "to talk to the teacher," attend conferences, "to see how good we are," or "to talk about teacher brutality." None attended PTA.

Forty-eight percent (42) of the respondents perceived their parents as somewhat involved in school affairs. Their parents attended PTA in addition to visiting school for various reasons (conferences, open house, etc.).

## Menominee Culture

Children were asked "What do you know about your tribe?" Although the interviewer probed [Do you dance at Pow Wows? Do you know legends, etc.], she did not feel childrens' responses always indicated their actual knowledge of Menominee culture. Some children could not separate the concept of tribal culture from their identity of themselves. Twenty-four percent (21) of the respondents reported they knew "nothing" about Menominee culture. The other children (76%) had knowledge of many aspects of their culture.

Data indicating sources of knowledge for tribal culture were limited. Data were available for fifty-three percent of the respondents. however, since twenty-four percent reported no knowledge of tribal culture, there is no knowledge-source data for only twenty-three of the respondents. The most frequent sources of knowledge were parents and close relatives.

All children had positive attitudes toward Menominee culture. Eighteen percent (16) felt learning about Menominee culture was more important than learning about "white culture." Students were asked "What would you like to learn about your tribe?"

## Menominee Language

Fifty-seven percent of Menominee children (5) could neither speak nor understand their tribal language. Thirty-eight percent (33) indicated varying levels of language proficiency; twenty-three percent understood and spoke some Menominee words, nine percent could follow a conversation and speak poorly, two percent understood Menominee well and could converse with little difficulty. None of the children reported perfect fluency in their native language. More fifth graders in School B (72%) had some level of language proficiency, than in School A.

Menominee children were asked with whom they spoke Menominee. Most frequently the language was used with parents and/or relatives (22%-19). A few children spoke Menominee with friends (6%), friends and grandmother (one percent), and a teacher (one percent). Five children from School A (six percent of the total number) did not speak Menominee with anyone.

Menominee children expressed positive attitudes toward their native language. One-fourth (22) indicated why Menominee was important to them and seemed especially anxious to learn the language. Fourth grades most frequently expressed this attitude.

## Perception of Formal Education's Ideal Relationship to Menominee Language and Culture

Nearly all students wanted some aspects of tribal culture and/or language taught in their school. Only three percent preferred to learn about all aspects of their culture "at home".

## Peer Relationships in Schools A and B

All Menominee children had at least one friendship in school. They frequently mentioned "cousins" as their "very best" friends. Most children had the same friends inside and out of school. Five percent appeared alienated from social relationships, they had a difficulty identifying even one child who was a friend. One third of the children had some friendships. Half named several friends and stressed peers, lunch, playing and recess as aspects they especially enjoyed at school. Fifteen percent were very popular children. Other students frequently named them as friends, and often the popular student identified other popular students as a "best friend".

Fourth and fifth graders in School A experienced the least satisfactory peer relationships. These classrooms had more cliques than the others, and fighting frequently occurred. The third graders had the most reciprocated and open friendships.

Most Menominee children (75%) felt "too much" fighting occurred in school. Fourth and fifth graders at School A most frequently expressed this opinion. Less than half of the third graders deplored the frequency of fights.

Children were asked why fights occurred and what measures could be taken to reduce the number of fights. Respondents felt most fights began when they were playing games. Cheating, ball fumbling, deciding who was up to bat and deciding who had the ball provided impetus for fights. Pushing, "making accidents on kids," and "bumping into kids" constituted the second most frequent cause of fights. Name calling, or "swearing" at children; "teasing," "arguing"; "talking back" or "sassing;" and "sticking up for sisters and brothers" shared third place as fight provoking situations. "Taking things" from other children ranked fourth. "Little things" and "firing worms" were also mentioned as situations which frequently resulted in fights.

To reduce fighting children suggested (in order of frequency) more external control from teachers and the principal, more understanding between children and changes in the school environment. Among the methods of external control children mentioned (in order of frequency): "make kids [who fight] stay in," suspend kids who fight, use patrols [on the playground], "have teachers break up" [fights], "get policeman [on the playground]," "tell the teachers or principal [about fights,"] "tell the principal [about fights]," "have the teacher punish [kids who fight]," "punish kids [who fight]," "make their mother come [to school when kids fight]," and "get a lickin' from home [when kids fight]." Students who believed fighting could be reduced by improving childrens' understanding of each other suggested (in order of frequency): "have all the kids be friends," a buddy system [one child would be responsible for one other child], "have kids apologize," [have] "kids leave each other alone," "never mind [when] kids [call you names]," and "don't be angry [when someone bumps into you]."

Improving the school environment to prevent fighting was also recommended; "get new games and new [playground equipment]," "let the kids play what they want [i.e. less interference by teachers in determining games played at recess]," and "get rid of fifth grade" [the student believed fifth graders started all fights]. When Menominee students were asked what changes they would make in their school half recommended reducing the amount of fighting.

## Indian and Non-Indian Peers: Friendships and Perceptions

Menominee students were asked whether they had non-Indian friends and if non-Indian children were different than Indian children. Sixty-five percent of the respondents had non-Indian friends, thirty one percent did not. Most School A fifth graders had non-Indian friends. Third graders in this school were least likely to have non-Indian friends. During the research at School A and School B fifth grade students had a picnic with fifth graders from Shawano. Many of these students named Shawano fifth graders as non-Indian friends.

Half of the Menominee children (57%) perceived differences between Indian and non-Indian peers. Thirty-one percent were not aware of differences. School A fourth graders were most likely to perceive differences between Indians and non-Indians. At least half of the children at each grade level perceived differences. However, third grade students were slightly less likely to perceive differences between Indian and non-Indian children.

Menominee children who had non-Indian friends were most likely to perceive differences between Indians and non-Indians. Seventy percent who had non-Indian friends identified differences, only eighteen of the children whose friends were exclusively Indian perceived differences. Students who reported no non-Indian friendships were least likely to perceive differences between Menominees and other children.

When data were analyzed by grade level, most Menominee children in third grade (75%), fourth grade (87%) and fifth grade at School B (75%) who had non-Indian identified differences between Indian and non-Indian peers. School A fifth graders were least likely to perceive differences

Third graders with exclusively Indian friends most frequently perceived differences between Indian and non-Indian peers. School A fifth graders were least likely to perceive differences. At all grade levels over half of the children who had only Indian friends did not identify differences between Indians and non-Indians.

Menominee students who perceived differences between Indian and non-Indian children were asked to identify the nature of these differences. Twenty-two percent believed the differences between Indians and non-Indians was physical appearance ( "non-Indians are lighter" etc.). Third graders most frequently identified physical characteristics. Ten percent of the students noted that non-Indians lived in cities and their appearance was different than that of Indian children. School B fifth graders most frequently gave this response. The belief that Indian people were "better" than White people was expressed by eighteen percent of the children who perceived differences between Indians and non-Indians. Fourth and fifth grades most frequently shared this attitude. A few children indicated that White people were "better" than Indian people. This opinion was most often expressed by School A fifth graders. Thirty percent of the children perceived other differences.

## Perceptions of a Teacher's Job

Students were asked to define the teachers job. Overall, half held neutral perceptions of their teachers: "They teach us," "learn the kids to do things," "teach me what I supposed to know." Thirty-nine percent viewed teachers as authority figures and ten percent regarded their teachers primarily as "helpful persons."

Variability in teacher-perception was influenced by grade level and perhaps sex of the teacher. The largest percent of neutral perceptions were expressed by School B's fifth graders (78%), School A's fourth graders ranked second (50%).

Authoritarian perceptions were most often expressed by fifth graders from School A (38%). Their teacher was male. School B's fifth grade made the fewest authoritarian perceptions (57%). Third graders most frequently regarded teachers as "helpful" (19%). Fifth graders made this perception least often.

Students who perceived teachers as authority figures defined their job as controlling children and/or making them learn. Half of these children felt a teacher's primary responsibility was to make children behave or prevent fights from occurring. [In other data children, particularly in School A, felt there was "too much fighting." Very few students defined the teacher's role as "helping us," "taking care of the kids," or "helping us get a good education."

## Evaluation of Teacher Performance

Menominee students were asked, "How well does your teacher do his (her) job?" Twenty-eight percent said their teachers were "very poor", sixteen percent thought they were "not very good". More positive ratings were given by twelve percent of the respondents who felt their teachers were "okay." Twenty-four percent reported their teachers were "good." Fourteen percent had "excellent" teachers. Fourth graders gave their teacher the most negative rating; over half thought she was very poor. Several children thought she "yelled too much" or was "mean." More third graders (one third) believed their teacher was "excellent."

When asked what they "liked best" about their school, twenty-one percent of the students mentioned, "teachers or nice teachers." The greatest percent of the School B's fifth graders and School A's third graders gave this response.

Students were also asked what they "Disliked most" about their school. Eighteen percent responded "teachers" and/or mentioned some aspect of their teachers' behavior. Fourth graders identified their teacher more frequently than students in other grades.

Twenty eight percent (25) of the children mentioned teachers or their current teacher's methods as aspects of the sshool they would like to change. Fifth graders most frequently disliked their teachers, especially those as School B.

## *Attitudes Toward Teaching: Projections*

Forty-four percent of Menominee children expressed positive attitudes toward teaching, forty-six percent held negative perceptions and two percent were ambivalent. The highest percent of fourth graders (58%) expressed positive perceptions. Negative perceptions were most frequently expressed by fifth graders from School B (72%).

Sex of respondent also influenced students' attitudes toward teaching. More girls (56%) than boys (27%) in Schools A and B were interested in teaching. The reverse, more boys (65%) than girls (32%) had no desire to teach, was also true.

Differences by sex and grade also occurred. Fourth grade boys (45%) and girls (69%) were most frequently interested in teaching. In all grades at least half of the girls viewed teaching as a desirable profession. The highest percentages of fifth grade boys (School A, 77%, School B, 80%) held negative attitudes toward teaching. Among girls third and fourth graders most frequently (21%, 23%) expressed negative attitudes.

Children were asked to explain why they would like to teach or why they were not interested in teaching. The most frequent reason for teaching was to help kids, or "to teach". A few children enjoyed the authoritarian aspect of teaching (spanking kids, shaking them up, etc.) One student (male) felt teachers were well paid. The possibility of changing their school attracted several students to the profession. They would give children more time outside, include Menominee culture and language, help kids have fun, take trips, and teach "valuable things."

Children who did not want to teach often based their decision on students' behavior ("kids make me nervous", [teaching is] "too emotionally upsetting", "kids don't listen," etc.) or the negative image students held of their current teachers ("kids would say I was mean," "I don't like to boss", etc.). Aspects of teaching (standing, meetings, correcting papers, too much work, etc.) also constituted good reasons for avoiding the profession.

## Overall Opinion of Schools A and B

Students were asked, "How does your school compare with others you know about?" They were also asked to identify which aspects of the school they liked and disliked. Over half (58%) expressed positive opinions about their school, thirty seven percent held negative opinions. Only one child felt School A was the worst school he had attended. Fifth graders from School B gave their school the most positive ratings while School A fourth graders gave their school the lowest ratings.

Menominee children indicated the aspects of school they "liked" and "disliked". Peer relationships (peers, recess, lunch) were most frequently liked (45%). One fourth of the children disliked something about their peers' behavior (fighting, sassiness). Fourth percent did not dislike anything about their school. (Although several of these children felt too much fighting occurred, they did not indicate disliking the situation.)

## Recommendations for Change

Menominee children recommended several changes in their schools. Half (53%) stressed the importance of reducing fighting between children. Fourth graders were especially concerned about eliminating fighting. Twenty four percent believed new teachers should be recruited because current teachers "were mean," "yelled too much," etc. Two students emphasized the need for more Indian teachers. Additional recess time was recommended by fourteen percent of the children. Changes in curriculum, rules, rooms, class size, playground equipment, length of school year, school atmosphere, etc. were also suggested.

## Areas of Change Recommended by Respondents

| | School A | | | School B | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Third | fourth | Fifth | Fifth | |
| Teachers | 2-10% | 5-21% | 9-38% | 8-44% | 24-28% |
| Curriculum | | 1-4% | 3-13% | 3-17% | 7-8% |
| Rules | 1-5% | 1-4% | 2-8% | 1-5% | 5-6% |
| Rooms | | 2-8% | 2-8% | | 4-5% |
| Class size | 1-5% | 1-4% | 1-4% | | 3-3% |
| Add more Recess | 2-10% | 1-4% | 6-25% | 3-17% | 12-14% |
| Improve Sports and Playground Equipment | | 1-4% | 1-4% | 5-28% | 7-8% |
| Reduce Fighting | 8-38% | 19-79% | 9-38% | 10-56% | 46-53% |
| School Atmosphere | 2-10% | 1-4% | 1-4% | 2-11% | 6-7% |
| Length of School year | | | | 2-11% | 2-2% |
| Other | | 2-8% | 3-13% | | 5-6% |
| I don't know | | 2-8% | 2-8% | | 4-5% |
| Nothing | 5-23% | | | | 5-6% |

## VIII

## THE EDUCATION OF MENOMINEE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN (A PAROCHIAL SCHOOL)

During May, 1969 fieldwork for the National Study of American Indian Education was conducted at Parochial School. The Catholic School, run by the Order of St. Joseph, was located in Menominee County and served grades one through eight. Its entire enrollment was Menominee.

Parochial staff fully supported NSAIE and were extremely helpful during the research. They assisted in scheduling interviews and making time available for students to complete questionnaires and other data. A Menominee woman interviewed Parochial students. This would not have been acceptable in District Eight schools. Other student data and teacher data were collected by a White fieldworker.

The atmosphere at Parochial appeared congenial and supportive for both students and staff. The tension and considerable peer fighting observed at Schools A and B were absent. Children appeared more involved in their school work, relaxed and demonstrated respect for their teachers.

Students and staff were concerned about the physical plant. The building was old. During the research a lunch room was being built and other remodeling was in process.

Most children lived outside the community and were bussed with students who attended School A.

### Parochial School Teachers

No statistical information on Parochial teachers was collected. The following data were obtained from several classrooms observations, group and individual discussions with teachers and conversations with students and parents.

All Parochial teachers belonged to the order of St. Joseph, were White and had at least B.S. degrees. The staff consisted of five teachers, one was also the principal. Parochial School did not use a systematic program to recruit teachers who were trained to work with Indian children. The Dioceses assigned Sisters to teach at various schools. However two of the five teachers had taken Indian history courses, and one had taken courses concerning Indian value. The entire staff had read and discussed John Brydes' work (New Approaches to Indian Education and The Sioux Student - A Study of Scholastic Failure and Personality Conflict). Teachers were sensitive to value differences, avoided stereotyping "Indians" and made continued efforts to understand Menominees as members of a tribal group and as individuals.

The convent was located near the school and the church. This as well as other parish oriented activities allowed considerable social contacts with Menominee people. The school was used for the adult education aspect of Mainstream (a CAP program) one evening a week. Some Parochial teachers taught adult education courses. The Sisters knew most students' families well and had visited many homes outside the immediate community. Teachers respected Menominee people and demonstrated empathy for the problems which they daily confronted. Assimilation-oriented philosophies were not expressed by Parochial staff. It was the impression of the fieldworkers that Parochial students seemed happy and their parents seemed quite satisfied with the school.

While the Indian community was not directly involved in school decision making and policy formation, they were consulted on these matters. The School program was essentially controlled by the dioceses, the parish priest and the school principal. Teachers had considerable impact in decision making. Local school personnel retained the authority to make school curriculum relevant to the community.

Limited efforts were made to stress the positive role of Menominee heritage. Although no courses on Indian or Menominee tradition or language were offered, teachers individually related subject matter to Menominee culture. Parochial staff participated in the Title I program (administered by District Eight) designed to create Menominee curricula for local schools. All teachers regarded including aspects of traditional Menominee life in the curriculum as a priority. A Menominee woman tutored students. The principal planned to expand the tutoring experience to other parents and children in the following years.

Parochial was structured to motivate children. Students were grouped in the following manner: grades one and two; grades three and four; grades five and six; grades seven and eight. Within the groups semi-individualized instruction was employed. One teacher was assigned to each group. A remedial reading specialist was also available and well utilized by teachers and students. The principal also taught seventh and eighth grade. A visiting teacher (shared by Schools A and B) was available for parental counseling, etc. Parochial's classroom structure anticipated the closing of grades seven and eight and the change to exclusively individualized instruction and modular scheduling in the fall of 1969.

Teachers believed most Menominee children were interested in learning. However they were concerned that students were not working up to potential. It was hoped that additional Indian tutors and the upcoming restructuring of the learning environment would more effectively motivate Menominee children. Teachers ranked students' academic performance as high, average or low. Six percent were considered "high achievers." Only third (18%) and sixth (13%) grade students were rated in this category. Half the children were average students and forty one percent were poor students. The fifth grade had the highest percentage of poor students (59%). On report cards teachers often commented that a child had more potential than his or her grades indicated.

School data indicated that fourteen percent of Parochial students had repeated one grade. Most often (7%) students repeated first grade. Interestingly none of these students had attended Kindergarten. Three percent had been retained in third grade, and two percent had repeated second grade. Third graders had the highest percentage (25%) of retentions.

## Student Background

Extensive data were collected on Parochial students: draw-a-man (grades 1-5), student questionnaires (grades 3-5), semantic differential (grades 5-8), achievement test data (grades 1-5) and an interview (grades 3-5).

Children appeared to enjoy being interviewed. Most were very relaxed and wanted (and were able) to listen to parts of their recorded interviews. Two students did not wish to be interviewed. Teachers were very helpful in scheduling interview times and releasing children for interviews. Efforts were made to interview as many children in grades three through eight as time permitted. At least eighty-five percent of the children at each grade level were interviewed. A total of seventy eight students were interviewed at Parochial School during April of 1969. The interviewer was a Menominee woman. Fifty five percent of the respondents were female, forty-four percent were male.

Most children (76%) lived with their parents or their mother. [Data indicated that ten percent of the fathers were dead. Divorce and separation and illegitimacy data were not available. It is expected that more than 10% of the families were one parent families.] Fifteen percent of the respondents lived with grandparents, three percent with an aunt and uncle and two percent with foster parents.

All children identified their tribe as Menominee. Most students (84%) were born in Menominee County. Five percent were born in Wisconsin and five percent in other states.

Nearly half the students (43%) had never attended another school. This tendency increased from fifth grade (41%) to eighth grade (90%). Of the children who had been in other schools most (fifty-three percent) had attended School A or Neopit Parochial. Generally one year, Kindergarten, had been taken at School A. [Parochial did not offer Kindergarten] Six percent (5) had attended other Wisconsin schools (Shawano, Bowler, Milwaukee) and five percent (4) had gone to school outside the state (Michigan, Ohio, California ).

Because Parochial School was deleting seventh and eighth grades from its program (in the 1969-70 Academic year) students in grades six through eight were transferring to District Eight Public Schools. Most students would attend Middle School or High School located in Shawano. For many children this would be the first ongoing exposure to White children. With few exceptions children had neither visited District Schools they would attend, nor had contact with their future teachers. Students' knowledge about District Eight schools was acquired from older borthers, sisters, relatives or friends who had been or were enrolled in the schools.

Three children (8%) would attend School District Eight schools in Gresham. Although they anticipated harder work at Gresham only one student was "scared" about the transfer.

Overall sixty one percent expressed anxiety about transferring to Middle or High School. Nearly equal proportions of sixth (60%), seventh (58%) and eighth (63%) graders appeared anxious. They mentioned anxiety about curriculum, teachers, rules, getting lost and more difficult work. Three students were especially concerned with peer relationships: ". . . I have to make new friends . . .", "White kids make too much trouble." . . . "[There are] more kids [at Middle School . . .]"

Twenty one percent of upper level students [sixth (13%), seventh (25%), and eighth (27%) graders] felt confident and even excited about attending Middle School or High School.

## Education and Occupational Aspirations

Unfortunately data concerning educational aspirations were limited. When asked, "What is that highest grade that you would like to finish," most students (67%) said, "I don't know." The interviewer did not attempt to clarify these responses. Two seventh graders (a girl and a boy ) wanted to finish college. No data were available for ten percent of the respondents.

Menominee children indicated many occupational interests. Most frequently girls wanted to be nurses (23%), teachers (16%) or nuns (14%). An equal percent (23%) of boys and girls did not know what kind of job they would choose as adults. Boys choices were more diverse than girls'. Most frequently they aspired to be truck drivers (8%), loggers (6%) or doctors (4%).

## Perception of the Relationship Between Formal Education and Adulthood

All Menominee students regarded education as somewhat important influence on their adult life. When asked, "What do you get out of school?", students named subjects and or concepts. Perceptions of the consequences of not having to attend school were varied. Nearly half of the Menominee children felt the situation would produce negative consequences [i.e. "I'd be dumb;" "can't get a job," etc.]. Twenty percent "didn't know" what would happen to them if they didn't have to go to school. Neutral reactions were characteristics of twenty-five percent who would: "Try to get a job", "play", "sit around the house", etc. Overall fifteen percent felt education was "slightly important". Most children

(65%) believed education could be important in determining their futures; but were unable to explain how or why it could be important. A few respondents (10%) felt a good education would enable them to get "good jobs." And one seventh grader believed education would create opportunities for a future life style different from that of many Indians and from the life styles of people without education. Fourth and sixth graders displayed the least well developed understanding of the relationship between education and adulthood. Seventh graders expressed the most understanding of these relationships.

## Students Interest in the Academic Aspect of School

Only one student was not interested in the academic aspects of parochial school. He did not participate in classroom activities and disliked all courses.

Fifteen percent expressed ambivalent attitudes toward course work. Although they generally preferred non-academic subjects (e.g. penmanship, art) they did not hold strong opinions of like or dislike toward any aspect of the learning situation.

Sixty-two percent of the students appeared interested in their courses. They enjoyed some courses, disliked others and sometimes volunteered in class discussion.

Seventeen percent were extremely interested in the academic aspect of school. They enjoyed several areas of study, volunteered in class and actively participated in classroom activities.

Academic interest varied with grade levels of respondents. Ambivalent attitudes were most often expressed by sixth (33%) and third grades (28%). Fourth and eighth (99%) graders were most interested in academic work.

Parochial students were asked to indicate the subjects they liked or disliked. Spelling (34%), Math (24%), reading (16%), and Art (14%) were the most popular courses. Math (38%) and geography (15%) were least well liked. As data indicated, students' attitudes toward math were polarized: 38% disliked Math, 24% liked Math. Fifteen percent of the students did not dislike any aspect of Parochial's curriculum.

## Parental Attitudes Toward Formal Education

Twenty percent of the students interviewed at Parochial School believed their parents were uncommitted to formal education. Even probing by the interviewer [Do your parents tell you to behave? Do they ask about your work?] didn't initiate responses which conveyed parental concern about education. In some instances children talked to their parents about school.

A second group of parents (12%) appeared somewhat committed to formal education. Although children discussed some aspects of school life with their parents, the primary concern of parents seemed to be "good behavior" (rather than learning, academic performance or the importance of education). Perhaps the parents regarded good behavior as the first step toward learning. However, our data did not allow for this distinction.

Half (55%) of Parochial children regarded their parents as fully committed to formal education. These families discussed school friendships. work and or reactions to the total educational environment. Parents expressed concern about learning, grades, finishing school, attendance, etc. and encouraged their children to learn.

Students' perceptions of parental attitudes toward formal education were compared by grade level. Eighth and fourth grade students most frequently reported strong parental commitment to education. Seventh grade youth (33%) most frequently perceived lack of parental commitment.

## Perception of Parental Contact With School

Nineteen percent of Parochial students reported that their parents had not visited school or had any contact with their teachers during the academic year 1968-69. A few children (5%) noted that parents visits were prompted by teachers efforts to discuss misbehavior.

More pleasant and informal parental contacts were discussed by most children (71%). Twenty-three percent reported their parents visited "to talk to the teacher", six percent "to get report cards", and thirty four percent gave a variety of reasons, including payment for lunch or pictures, to "see how we do", "Open House", "attending meetings", etc.

## Tribal Culture

Data concerning tribal culture (students knowledge, sources of knowledge and attitudes toward Menominee culture) were limited. Thirty-eight percent reported no knowledge of Menominee culture, nineteen percent indicated some knowledge and no data were available for twenty-nine percent. There were no data for the third and fourth grades.

Nearly half the children who knew something about Menominee culture had learned it from their parents. A few respondents identified relatives (grandfather, 6%), mother's cousin 6%), school, or books as sources of knowledge. There were no data for the third and fourth grades.

All children who were asked about Menominee culture expressed very positive attitudes toward it and wanted to improve their knowledge and understanding of Menominee culture. A few students (11%) regarded knowledge of tribal culture as more important than knowledge of White culture. There were no data for the third and fourth grades.

## Tribal Language

Fifty-six percent of the respondents could neither speak nor understand their native language. Thirty-eight percent indicated varying levels of proficiency: twenty-eight percent understood and spoke some words, ten percent could follow a conversation and spoke their language poorly.

Menominee children were asked to identify the persons with whom they used tribal language. Most often children named parents (36%) or close relatives (33%). A few spoke Menominee with teachers (6%) or friends (3%).

Menominee children expressed positive attitudes toward their native language. They valued it and wanted to improve their proficiency. For a few students the ability to speak Menominee was more important than learning English.

## Perception of Formal Education's Ideal Relationship to Menominee Culture

Parochial students held several opinions on the relationship between tribal culture and school. Some children (22%) regarded both "home and school" as appropriate environments for learning about Menominee culture and language. Other students felt some aspects of culture should be taught in school, and other aspects of culture taught at home. Only one respondent felt Parochial school should not teach any aspect of Menominee Culture.

## Perception of a Teacher's Job

To assess Parochial students attitudes toward teachers, children were asked, "What is a teacher's job?" Over half gave neutral definitions: "teaching", "to learn the children", "to teach us." Twenty-one percent perceived teaching as an authoritarian role: "To watch us", "to see [or make] children behave [or] do their work." A few children (8%) regarded their teachers as "helpful persons": "To help you", etc.

Teacher perception varied between garde levels. Authoritarian perceptions of teachers were most often held by seventh (42%) and eighth (36%) grade students. Only fifth (18%), eighth (18%) and sixth (13%) graders regarded teachers as helpful persons.

## Attitudes Toward Teaching: Projections

Fifty percent of Menominee students expressed positive attitudes toward teaching, twenty-nine percent held negative perceptions and fourteen percent were ambivalent. Positive perceptions were most often held by fourth graders (71%) and least often characteristic of eighth graders (27%). Negative perceptions were most frequently expressed by eighth grade students (45%); third graders (37%) ranked second. Ambivalent attitudes were most characteristic of eighth (27%) and fifth grade students (24%).

Parochial students were asked to indicate why they would like teaching or why they had no interest in teaching. The most frequent reason for teaching was "to help kids", or "teach them." A few children enjoyed the authoritarian aspect of teaching ("you could hit kids" . . ., "have the right answers", etc.). The good pay attracted one student to the profession. Children who did not want to teach generally based their decision on work oriented aspects of teaching ("it takes too much time", "hard work", "too much work", "hollering", etc.). The behavior of students or teacher relationships with students discouraged other Menominee children from teaching.

## Evaluation of Teacher Performance

Parochial students were asked to evaluate how well their teacher did her job. A few Menominee children (3%) felt their teachers were "poor". More positive ratings were given by nineteen percent who thought their teachers were "okay". Thirty-five percent reported having "good" teachers and an equal percentage felt their teachers were "excellent". Fourth and fifth graders gave teachers the most positive ratings. Only seventh and eighth graders gave teachers negative evaluations.

When asked what they "liked best" about Parochial school, six percent mentioned teachers. None of the children said they disliked teachers. However one seventh grader didn't like getting yelled at by his teacher. One third grader mentioned "teachers" as an aspect of Parochial School they would most like to change.

A number of children (20%) sometimes volunteered to stay after school and help their teachers "clean class rooms", "carry boxes", or "put up bulletin boards". Eighteen to twenty-eight percent of the students in each grade had helped their teacher. Thirty two percent who couldn't stay after because they rode the bus seemed disapponited: "I'd like to [stay after] to help Sister, but I live too far away."

## Peer Relationships in Parochial School

All Menominee children had at least one friendship at Parochial School. Cousins were often considered "best friends." Most children had the same friends inside and outside school. A few Menominees (17%) appeared alienated from social relationships in school. They had difficulty identifying even one child as an in-school friend. Thirty nine percent had some friendships and seemed involved in more than one reciprocal friendship. An equal percent had several reciprocated friendships; in addition they stressed peers, lunch, playing and recess as aspects they especially enjoyed at Parochial. Five percent were very popular children;

other students frequently named them as friends and three stayed after school to play with peers.

Fourth and fifth graders appeared to experience the least satisfactory peer relationships. Third graders had the most reciprocated and open friendships.

## Indian and Non Indian Peers: Friendships and Perceptions

Parochial students were asked whether they had non-Indian freindships and if non-Indian children were different than Menominee children. Fifty three percent had non-Indian friends, forty three percent did not. Seventh and eighth graders were most likely to have non-Indian friends, third and sixth graders were least likely. Two percent did not know if they had non-Indian friends nor were they certain that differences existed between Indian and non-Indian youth.

Nearly half of the respondents (44%) perceived differences between Indians and non-Indian children. Twenty three percent were unaware of differences, two percent were uncertain about whether differences existed and no data were available for twenty nine percent of the students. Fifth and sixth graders demonstrated the strongest tendency to perceive differences. Differences were least often perceived at the third and fifth grade levels.

Menominee children who had non-Indian friends were most likely to perceive differences between Indians and non-Indians. Two thirds of those who reported non-Indian friends identified differences, compared with twenty percent who did not have Indian friends. Unfortunately no data on perceptions was available for sixty eight percent of respondents who had exclusively Indian friendships.

Perceptions of children with non-Indian friendships were analyzed by grade level. Third (100%) and fifth graders (90%) were most likely to perceive differences between Indians and non-Indian peers. Eighth (10%) and seventh (50%) graders least often perceived differences.

Sixth (50%) and seventh (50%) graders with exclusively Indian freindships most frequently perceived differences between Indian and non-Indian peers. Third, fourth and eighth graders did not perceive differences. [However at these grade levels no data on differences were available for over half the respondents in each grade].

Menominee children who believed that Indians and non-Indians were different were asked to identify the nature of these differences. Differences in physical appearance ["Whites do things different (than Indians)"] speech, and residence were most often mentioned.

A few respondents (5-12%) made value judgments of Whites and Indians. A positive perception of Whites was reflected in the response of a third grader: "My cousin [is White]. He is good and real nice. Every time I need money he just gives it to me." A fifth grader held negative perceptions of White children: "White kids don't want to go in the woods but Indian do!". Two sixth grade children felt Menominee people were "better" than White people.

## Overall Opinion of Parochial School

Parochial students were asked to compare their school with others. They were also asked to identify the aspects of Parochial School they "liked" and "disliked". Most children (70%) held positive opinions about their school; ten percent expressed negative opinions; and six percent were unable to make a comparison. Fifth graders viewed Parochial the most positively, sixth and seventh graders most negatively.

Menominee children indicated aspects of Parochial which they "liked" and "disliked". Peer relationships (recess, playing outside, peers) were most frequently liked (20%). Two students disliked peers, one said he disliked being "beat up by big guys." Religion or mass was especially enjoyed by eleven percent of the students. Six percent liked teachers, one child disliked teachers yelling. Other aspects liked by children included: "pretty rooms," special days" and the location on Parochial. The "scary steps leading to the bathroom" were disliked by a fifth grade girl.

## Recommendations for Change

Menominee children recommended several changes at Parochial. Curriculum change was most often suggested (20%). Creating opportunities to learn about Menominee culture was especially important to some students (3%). Building improvements (fixing floors, fixing the building, new desks) were recommended by ten percent of Parochial students. Other areas where changes were suggested included: peers (6%), recess (3%), class length (3%), room assignment (5%), rules (3%), mass (2%), ability grouping (1%), school calendar (1%) and teachers (1%). These data are summarized below. The authors felt readers would be interested in the exact changes recommended by Parochial students.

# IX

# THE EDUCATION OF MENOMINEE MIDDLE SCHOOL CHILDREN

## Parental Attitudes Toward Education

Eighteen percent of the Middle School Indian children felt their parents were somewhat committed to the value of formal education. Although students discussed selected aspects of school life at home, good behavior, and getting to school [rather than learning, academic performance or the importance of education], were the primary parental concerns. Perhaps parents regard proper behavior as a prerequisite for learning. However, their attitudes appeared to differ from a second group of parents who were definitely committed to helping their children receive a good formal education.

Sixty percent of the students believed their parents were strongly committed to formal education. Parents and children often discussed subjects, academic performance, school friendships and personnel, and reactions to the total educational environment. Children were encouraged to improve grades, learn as much as possible, and at least finish high school.

Students' perceptions of parental attitudes toward formal education were compared by grade level. Eighth grade youth most frequently reported strong parental commitments to education. Approximately half of the sixth and seventh graders indicated this level of commitment.

Sixteen percent of the students indicated that their parents had not visited Middle School for any reason. In many instances (44%) parental initial contacts with school involved problems with their children. These situations were the only contact forty percent had with school personnel.

Forty-five percent of the respondents described parental contact as informal. These situations included coming to Open House and

Parents Night, paying dues, picking up children, attending concerts or sports events. Only one student's description indicated formal involvement. This family lived in Shawano and regularly attended PTA.

## Students Interest in the Academic Aspect of School

Varying levels of academic interest were expressed by Menominee students. Three percent were totally disinterested. They did not participate in classroom activities and disliked every class.

Twenty-two percent held ambivalent attitudes toward coursework. They preferred non-academic classes (i.e. art, gym) but did not express strong opinions (of like or dislike) toward classes or aspects of learning situations.

Half of the respondents were definitely interested in their coursework. They identified favorite classes as well as those they disliked. They were involved in classroom activities including discussion and volunteering in response to questions

Twenty seven percent appeared exceptionally interested in and committed to learning. They enjoyed classes where the teachers were good and the work challenging. Criticism was directed toward poor teachers and boring classes. These students did considerable independent reading and learning outside school.

Levels of academic interest differed in each grade. Disinterest and ambivalent attitudes were most characteristic of sixth and eighth grade students. Seventh graders were most frequently highly interested in learning.

Students identified the classes they "liked" and "disliked". Math

(3%), Science (22%), English (22%), reading (21%), and Physical Education (18%), were the most popular subjects.

## Study Centers

A Study Center staffed by college students and a few district teachers [from Middle School and High School] was located in Neopit and Keshena. Its function was to help Menominee students with academic problems. According to sixth graders services were not open to them, but only to students in grades 7-12. The authors were interested in the frequency with which students used the facility and their evaluation of the center. Unfortunately data were incomplete, as many students were not asked about the center.

To gain some indication of the Center use and helpfulness to students we used data from students who were asked about the Centers. Of those asked, seventy-eight percent used the centers at least once a week, twenty-two percent had never used them. Students gave very positive evaluations of the program. The racial tensions characteristic of Middle School were absent although the tutors were White. Students considered the friendly atmosphere [and in some cases relationships with tutors] as important as the academic help they received.

## Perception of the Relationship Between Formal Education and Adulthood

Nearly all students felt they were "getting something out of school". Subject content, concepts, social experience were frequently identified. Respondents held varying perceptions of the consequences of not having to attend school and of the education's potential influences on adult life. Nearly all students believed not going to school would have negative consequences [I'd be dumb; I wouldn't know nothing; I couldn't work]. Neutral consequences [I'd play; I'd sit around] and positive consequences [i'd have more fun; we'd be free then] were rarely identified.

Two percent of the students believed education an irrelevant aspect of their future.

Forty-three percent were of the opinion that education could or might be important in determining some perimeters of their adult lives. However, they were unable to explain how or why it could be important.

Fully half of the respondents felt "a good education" was important, for without it, jobs or "good jobs" could not be obtained.

Comparing perceptions of the importance of formal education within each grade, indicated that seventh graders were most likely to view education as an important aspect of their future.

Within grade levels eighth grade boys and seventh and eighth grade girls were most highly committed to formal education.

## Overall Evaluation of Middle School

Students were asked to assess Middle School as compared with other schools they had attended. One-third of the respondents in total and at each grade level believed Middle School was "worse". Twenty-eight percent thought it was "about the same" although they had some negative attitudes about Middle School. Forty percent assessed Middle School as "better" than other schools.

Among the negative aspects of Middle School Menominee students mentioned unequal treatment of Indians and Whites, prejudice by students and/or school personnel, frequent suspensions, rigidity of rules, methods of discipline, [point system, dress code, overall structure, detention] teacher quality and transportation.

Students based positive evaluations of Middle School on the variety of classes, larger size, opportunities to meeting more people, [i.e. students] and/or school personnel's attitudes.

## Teacher Evaluation

Teachers received ratings of "pretty good" from half the students. Eleven percent identified teachers as one of the aspects they liked at Middle School. No one indicated Middle School teachers were very good or excellent.

Seventh and eighth graders were most likely to rank their teachers "very poor". Overall eighth graders gave the lowest ratings ["very poor" or "okay"] and sixth graders the highest "pretty good".

Some students separated what they labeled "prejudiced behavior" of teachers, from evaluation of teacher quality. At least forty-two percent of the respondents believed teachers were prejudiced. Six percent felt they might be and only twenty-four percent indicated no prejudice among teachers. However, only twenty-six percent described their teachers as "very poor". Seventeen percent "disliked" some or all of their teachers.

One-fourth of the respondents regarded their teachers as OK. In their opinion teachers were neither good nor poor.

Data indicated the stormy relationships between White teachers and their Indian students. Several incidents of personal confrontations with teachers or clashes between friends and teachers were described by Menominee students. The nature of these incidents varied, including: sticking up for a friend who was wrongly accused of chewing gum, students defending their right to wear Indian headbands, situations where teachers hit or pushed Indian students and unequal enforcement of rules.

## Involvement in School Affairs

Nearly all students enjoyed several in school peer relationships. Most of the friends they named were other Indians. Despite the friendships, Menominee students generally felt "left out" of school affairs and extra-curricular activities. They did not, as one student said, "feel a part of Middle School".

However, rarely did students feel totally isolated from all students including other Indians. Three percent did. They had no friends in school.

Extra curricular activities at Middle School were limited to intramural sports WIAA basketball and track, band, chorus, plays, GAA (Girls Athletic Association) and a few clubs. Most activities (intramurals and some clubs) met during lunch hour. A late bus was provided after activities for students from Neopit and Keshena. Boys (42%) were more often participants than girls (11%). Boys and girls in the sixth [girls 28%; boys 45%] and eighth grade [girls, 18%; boys 61%] most frequently indicated extra-curricular involvement. Additionally a number of boys belonged to boxing clubs in Menominee County.

Several boys wanted to belong to one of the sports teams. Transportation difficulties but more often in their opinion, teacher's prejudices in selecting participants deterred their participation.

Peer Relationships

Most Menominee students (91%) had friendships with both Indian and non-Indians. Non-Indian friendships were generally superficial and confined to meeting and playing in school. Only rarely did Indian-Non-Indian relationships extend beyond the context of the school situation. Menominees almost always considered other Indians as their closest friend and interacted with them more frequently than with White friends.

A few Indian students (7%) reported friendships with other Indians and none with Whites. One Indian who lived in Shawano had no Indian friends, only White friends.

The probability of having White friends increased with grade level. Eighth graders were most likely to have non-Indian friendships. They were also most likely to participate in extra-curricular activities.

Regardless of friendships or no friendships with Whites, 59% of the respondents perceived differences between Indians and non-Indians. Thirty-one percent perceived no differences and five percent were uncertain about the existance of differences.

Tensions existed between Indians and White students and within groups of Indians. Many Menominee students had experienced prejudice from White classmates. At least one-third believed that nearly all the White students were prejudiced toward or disliked Indians.

Data indicated that White students often made derogatory or insulting comments to Indians.

Many Indian girls perceived Whites as socially distant, "snooty" or "stuck up" and disinterested in friendships with Indians.

Additionally, students described characteristics of White students (i.e. styles of playing or of Indian students (loyalty, understanding) which determined close friendships between the groups.

Some Menominee students accused other Menominees of "making it with the Whites." This comment was addressed to students (especially boys) who were successful athletes or were well accepted by or preferred White friends to Indian friends. Boys in sports were less likely to perceive prejudice or differences between Indians and Whites.

One fourth mentioned "students" as an aspect of school they especially liked. This group included most of the students who participated in extra-curricular activities.

## Tribal Language

Forty-nine percent of Middle School students could neither speak nor understand their native language. Forty-eight percent reported proficiency varying from understanding a few words to the ability to converse fluently in Menominee. The knowledge of most children lies somewhere between the two levels. Seventh (66%) and Eighth (46%) graders were most likely to know something of their tribal language.

Nearly all respondents (92%) who were learning Menominee spoke it with their parents and/or close relatives [grandparents, aunts, uncles]. A few students indicated a language class in Menominee County and friends as sources of knowledge.

Most (85%) Menominee students valued Menominee language and were anxious to increase their knowledge. They regard the language as an integral part of Menominee culture which itself was of great importance to their lives. Two percent felt the ability to speak their tribal language was more important than knowledge of English. A few respondents (10%) expressed indifferent attitudes toward the language -- they didn't care whether or not they learned more about it. Only one student regarded Menominee as worthless and had no desire to learn it.

Eighth graders most frequently held negative or indifferent opinions about Menominee.

## Tribal Culture

Three-fourth of the students had some knowledge of their tribal culture. Their knowledge consisted of dancing, legends, information about chiefs, crafts and occasionally historical information.

Data on source of tribal knowledge was sparce. No data were available for 43% of the respondents. Forty percent of the students had obtained most of their information about Menominee culture from parents and/or close relatives [grandparents, aunts, uncles]. A few had learned about it from older Menominees, the County pageant, books, or school.

Nearly all students (96%) valued their culture highly. They were eager to learn more about it and felt their heritage was of great personal value. Two percent expressed indifference about Menominee culture -- they did not care whether or not they learned more about it and were uncertain about the importance of tribal culture in their lives.

## Ideal Relationships Between School and Tribal Language and Culture

Nearly half of the respondents felt Menominee language and culture courses should be taught in Middle School. Ten percent felt home was the best environment for learning about these aspects.

Forty-two percent of the students felt schools should teach one aspect but not others. These divisions were: language at home, culture in school (4%); language in school, culture at home (18%); language in school, culture at home and in school (2%); disinterested in learning language, culture at home (1%); disinterested in learning language, culture in school (3%); language in school, culture anywhere (1%); language in school, culture don't know where (1%); no data on language culture in school (6%); language at home, no data on culture (1%); language no data, culture at home (1%); language in school, culture no data (1%); both aspects in Menominee County (2%).

## Students' Recommendations for Change

Students were asked what changes should be made at Middle School. Eighteen percent felt changes were not necessary. Most respondents (68%) recommended rule changes. These changes included freeing of the generally strict rules, modifying or eliminating the dress code (24%), eliminating the point system (13%), changing rules about detention (2%) and suspension (2%) and enforcing the rules equally for White and Indian students (8%). School personnel changes were suggested; seventeen percent wanted several teachers replaced, one percent felt Middle School needed a different principal. A few students (3%) recommended curriculum modifications. Other changes included: reducing class size, lengthening class time, shortening the school day, increasing time between classes, avoiding changing classrooms, improving the building, improving Indian-White relationships, and adding extra-curricular activities. A few students (3%) strongly recommended establishment of a Middle School in Menominee County.

## X

## THE EDUCATION OF MENOMINEE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

### Tribal Language

Most high school students (70%) had some knowledge of Menominee but proficiency ranged from comprehending and speaking a few words to fluency. (The proficiency of most students lay between the two polarities). Most frequently, it was juniors and seniors who knew the language. Twenty-six percent of the respondents could neither speak nor understand Menominee.

Most (69%) of the respondents who were learning Menominee spoke it with their parents (and in some cases from additional people - e.g. parents and grandparents). Relatives, "old people [i.e. old Menominees]" friends and school were mentioned as other sources of knowledge.

Most students (89%) valued tribal language and wanted to increase their knowledge. They regarded Menominee as an integral part of tribal culture and a great importance to them individually. Eight percent of the respondents regarded Menominee as a dead language and of no importance to them. They didn't care whether or not they learned it.

Forty percent of the respondents wanted both Menominee language and culture taught in high school. Seventeen percent preferred learning both aspects at home. Three percent felt home and school were both ideal environments for learning about all aspects of Menominee's culture. Half (55%) of the students wanted schools to teach one aspect (language or culture) but considered other places (home, "old people", etc.) more appropriate for learning the other aspect. These divisions included: language at home, culture in school (2%); language at school, culture at home (14%); language in school, culture from "old people"; and language at home, culture at home and in school (2%). One student felt "old people" were the best source for learning about language and culture, another felt books were.

## Tribal Culture

Nearly all students (92%) knew something about their tribal culture -- dancing, legends, chiefs, crafts and aspects of history -- but often the knowledge was superficial and not integrated.

Data on source of tribal knowledge was incomplete. None were available for one-third of the respondents who knew something about Menominee culture. Thirty-two percent of the students had obtained most of their information about Menominee culture from parents. Relatives, especially grandparents, were frequently mentioned. Other sources included "old people" [i.e. older Menominee persons] pow wows, friends, books and Upward Bound.

Nearly all students (94%) valued their culture highly and were eager to learn more about it. Three percent expressed ambivalence about the importance of tribal culture and didn't care whether or not they learned about it.

## Perceptions of Parents Commitment to Formal Education

Twelve percent of the respondents felt their parents valued education somewhat. While students discussed aspects of school life at home, good behavior (rather than learning or encouragement) was the parents' primary concern.

In contrast, most Menominees (78%) believed their parents were strongly interested in formal education. Parents and children often discussed courses, academic performance, future education, school friendships and personnel and reactions to the total high school environment. Sophomores were least likely to report strong parental interest in education.

## Parents Contact with School

Half of the students indicated that their parents had not visited

High School. Thirty percent (25) described parental school contact as "informal"; their parents attended sports events or banquets, Open House, parent's night, concerts or came only to pay fees, enroll them, leave messages, or pick them up when ill.

A few students (12%) reported suspension of "trouble situations" as the only contact their parents had with High School. A parent of one student was on the District School Board and formally involved in school affairs.

## Students' Interest in the Academic Aspect of School

Varying levels of academic interest were expressed by Menominee students, however, none appeared totally disinterested. One-fourth held ambivalent attitudes toward course work. The attitudes of some teachers and White students often made students uncomfortable and was at the root of their ambivalence.

Half of the respondents were definitely interested in learning. They identified favorite courses as well as those disliked; and regularly participated in classroom activities (including discussion, volunteering in response to teachers' questions).

Eighteen percent were exceptionally interested in and committed to learning. They enjoyed classes taught by good teachers and challenging work. Criticism was directed toward poor teachers and boring classes. Students mentioned pursuing independent reading and learning outside of school.

Levels of academic interests differed in each grade level. Ambivalent attitudes were most characteristic of sophomores and juniors. Seniors were most frequently "highly interested".

## Perception of the Relationship Between Formal Education and Adulthood

Nearly all students believed they were "getting something out of school". Course content, social experience, and preparation for further education were frequently metnioned. Only one student felt education was an irrelevant aspect of his future.

Eighteen percent thought education could be or might be an important factor in adult life. However, they did not know how or why it could be important.

In contrast, most students (78%) believed "a good education" would be very important in the future, for without it, jobs or "good jobs", could not be obtained.

When perceptions of the importance of formal education within each grade level were compared -- seniors (87%) were most likely to regard education as a vital aspect of their future.

## Educational Aspirations

All Menominee High School students planned to graduate from High School. Graduation would complete the education of seventeen percent, one-third were going to vocational school, twelve percent considered college and thirty seven percent were definitely going to college. More boys (91%) than girls (74%) had educational aspirations beyond High School. Half the boys and one-fourth of the girls had definitely decided to pursue college education.

Within grade levels sophomore and junior boys were most likely to attend college, seniors were the least likely. In contrast senior girls were most often planning on college, sophomores were least likely. Vocational education was most often sought by senior boys and sophomore girls.

## Occupational Aspirations

The occupational aspirations of Menominee girls showed little variety. Nursing and secretarial work were the most frequent choices; other possibilities included: teaching, beautician, tailor, artist, model, singer, join the service, wife, clerk, data processor, computer clerk. A senior wanted to be a psychologist or journalist. One-fourth of the girls didn't know what they wanted to be.

Male Menominee students showed greater variability, than girls, in occupational aspirations. Engineering, business administration or, teacher, welder, mechanic and armed services were their most frequent choices; others included architect, criminologist, forester, social work, residential design, sales management, electrician, drafting, machinist, construction, truck driver, and millionaire. Only twelve percent did not identify an occupation in which they were interested.

## Overall Evaluation of High School

Students were asked to evaluate High School by comparing it to other schools they had attended. One-third regarded High School as the "worse" school. Forty two percent thought it was "about the same" as other schools, but discussed some negative aspects of their experience in High School. Twenty-two percent believed High School was somewhat "better" than other schools they had attended.

Negative evaluations were most frequently made by sophomores and juniors and seniors while freshman were most likely to give positive assessments of High School.

Negative aspects of High School Menominee students discussed included:

unequal treatment of Indians and Whites, frequent suspension of Indians, but not White students, rigidity of rules [dresscode, closed campus] prejudice of teachers, principal and White students toward Menominees and teacher quality, powerlessness of student council, poor guidance counselors and curriculum.

High School students were asked to evaluate the quality of teachers. In addition many commented about teacher prejudice, descripted confrontations and high tension levels between students and teachers. Twenty percent disliked some or all of their teachers. Over half (60%) of the students and eighty percent of those who commented about prejudice, believed some or all High School teachers were prejudiced. Fifteen percent [twenty percent of those commented] felt none of their teachers were prejudiced. Some Menominees separated what they labeled teacher's "prejudiced behavior" from evaluation of "teacher quality."

Forty-one percent of the respondents felt their teachers were "poor". Thirty-one percent of the students regarded their teachers as "okay". In their opinions teachers were neither good nor poor. One-fourth of the Menominees thought their teachers were "pretty good." Most of these students did not feel teachers were prejudiced. Three percent mentioned "teachers" as something they especially liked about High School. Sophomores and juniors were most likely to rate teachers as "poor", seniors were most likely to rate them "pretty good".

Most Menominees perceived considerable tension existed between themselves and their teachers. Many incidents of confrontation with teachers or clashes between friends and teachers were described. The nature of these incidents was varied, including: teacher's unequal enforcement of rules [especially dress code] kicking Indians out of class more frequently than Whites, unequal access to teacher's help and teachers hitting or pushing

Indian students. Some students felt that when their parents came to school on their behalf "things got worse", others felt things got bette Additionally, many students believed teachers did not understand, or even try to understand Menominees, but instead [openly or covertly] perceived them as "dumb trouble makers." Several students were angered because they weren't allowed to wear beaded headbands. Other students complained that some teachers criticized them for "hanging around Indians."

## XI

## ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS AND THE EDUCATION OF MENOMINEE INDIAN CHILDREN

### Characteristics of Menominee County Teachers

Eighteen Menominee County Elementary school teachers participated in the National Study. At School A, the entire elementary staff cooperated with the study; this was not true at School B. Additional participants were three teachers who worked at both schools. Most teachers (89%) were female. One teacher (6%) was Indian and the rest were Caucasian. Fifty-six percent (19%0 of the teachers were unmarried.

The age of Menominee County teachers ranged from twenty-one to sixty-six. When interns are included, thirty-nine percent of the staff is twenty-three or younger, while seventeen percent are sixty or older. School A teachers tended to be younger than those at School B.

Of the teachers who participated in the study, seventeen percent (3) did not have college degrees, sixty-one (11) had degrees in elementary education, and twenty-two percent (four interns who had BA degrees) were fulfilling part of their Master of Education requirements by teaching in Menominee County. One third of School B teachers and eleven percent of School A teachers were teaching without degrees.

Seventy-eight percent of School A's teachers were completing their first year at that school; only one of these teachers had taught Indian students previously. One respondent (11%) had been at School A three years, and another (11%) was completing her her sixth year at the school.

One-third of the School B teachers were completing their first year of work in Menominee County; seventeen percent had taught there four years and seventeen percent had worked seven years at the school. No data were available for thirty-three percent of the respondents.

## Teaching Arrangements

Teaching assignments in Menominee County schools need clarification. Team teaching was being done on a limited basis in both schools. Two interns and their cooperating constituted one team at each school. Interns held BA degrees and had completed all but two courses in the Masters' program at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. They were fulfilling the degree's teaching requirement by working at School A or School B for one semester at half pay. Ideally, the cooperating teachers supervised the interns, criticized aspects of their teaching methods, etc. Interns taught one half to two thirds time.

While School A interns found support and encouragement from their cooperating teacher, this was not the situation at School B. School B interns worked in a different environment. They did not receive the quality of feedback which School A interns experienced.

A second team-teaching arrangement was implemented at School A during the last nine-week session. The fourth and fifth grade teachers split their subject load; one taught arithmetic, science and social studies, the other taught language, spelling and reading to the fourth and fifth grades. The teachers did not work out their lesson plans as a team.

## Library

A librarian spent half her time at the School A and School B libraries. She supervised a full time library aide at each school. Both aides were Menominee women. The employment of aides made it possible for the libraries to be open every day. Prior to this year, the librarian was able to spend only a half day at each school.

The librarian regarded the libraries as "resource centers to help the children," and spent a considerable amount of her time orienting students and teachers to utilize the libraries effectively.

The librarian's goal was to involve all children with the libraries' facilities. Classes were scheduled to use the library; however, children also could come anytime with their teacher's permission.

Children had to be in first grade to check out books. The Library Club gave students opportunities to assist the librarian and was popular with some students. The librarian regarded the Menominee children's preference for non-fiction as unusual. In her opinion children enjoyed using the library.

## Aspects of School Atmospheres

At both School A and School B the school atmosphere was tense. Tension existed at every level. There was tension between groups of teachers within each school who had different teaching philosophies, tension between children and teachers and the school structure, tension between parents as representatives of the communities and the school system, tension between factions within the total communities, and tension between the principal who served each school on a half-time basis and his teachers, and also with the central administration of the school district.

When the researcher entered either school, this atmosphere was readily apparent. In particular, the situation was producing stress in the children. Children were very nervous, seemed unable to concentrate, though they tried, and seemed in a constant state of apprehension as if wondering when they would be yelled at or disciplined for reasons they could not altogether comprehend. There was less acting out at School B; this may have been because the school was more structured than at School A. Often, when the researcher walked into

School B in the halls she would see children facing the walls with their hands placed against the walls as punishment for misbehavior in the classroom or on the playground. School B, on the surface, appeared to be a tightly-run school, and School A appeared more chaotic; however, the tension levels were nearly equal. It was as though frustration and hostilities were beginning to surface at School A and had not yet done so at School B.

Teachers at both schools discussed the discipline problems they encountered with Menominee children.

Fifty-five percent of Menominee County teachers attributed classroom discipline problems to generalized characteristics of Menominee children. They did not discuss discipline in the context of school structure, nor relate the frequency of discipline problems to the value conflict between home and school.

Thirty-eight percent (7) of the respondents regarded discipline problems as a complex interaction between children and their values and the school's rigid structure.

Teachers at School A and School B perceived the causes of discipline problems somewhat differently. More School B respondents (67%) than School A respondents (55%) regarded "qualities of students" as the major factor contributing to discipline problems. The complex-interaction position was proposed by more School A (44%) than School B teachers (33%). Of respondents who taught at both school, one chose each explanation.

Fifty-six percent (10) of the Menominee County teachers had very rigid expectations for their students. They defined good students as those who attended every day, followed directions, completed work on time, etc.

## Teachers' Knowledge of and Experience with Menominees

Nearly one third (28%) of Menominee County teachers acknowledged their ignorance of Menominees. They had no experience with the communities of School B or School A, nor with the Indian people outside of the teaching situation.

Twenty two percent indicated that their experiences in Menominee County, however limited, have given them a little knowledge about its inhabitants. None of these teachers had made efforts to involve themselves in the communities. Poor knowledge of Menominee people was demonstrated by 11% (2) of the respondents. Twenty-two percent, the interns, reported a wide variety of experiences with Menominee County people outside the school-room situation. Through living in Menominee County, visiting students' homes, and participating in many activities with children and parents, they had acquired good knowledge of Menominee people. (The interns lived in Town B - the community of School B.)

Only two teachers (11%) possessed an extensive and systematic knowledge of the local communities. They knew many people and were actively participating in community affairs.

An equal percentage of School A and School B teachers had little knowledge of, or experience with, Menominees. At both schools the interns were well acquainted with Menominees and their problems. A Title I consultant and a School A teacher possessed the most thorough knowledge of Menominees and their communities.

## Teacher-Student Contact

All Menominee County teachers indicated their students discussed out-of-school activities with them. Students mentioned 4-H, Girl Scouts, church activities, sports, hunting, hiking, fishing, getting new things, trips to other towns, shopping, films they had seen, family activities, horseback riding, picnics, friends and "who could take who in fighting". (Seventeen percent were surprised that students did not discuss their homes and home-related activities very often.) Twenty-eight percent (5) of the respondents had not seen their student engaged in out-of-school activities.

Twenty-two percent of the respondents had observed pupils in activities unrelated to school. They watched children playing in the street, practicing basketball, and playing games. One teacher had seen her students at the Menominee County Fair.

Thirty-nine percent of the teachers had participated in out-of-school activities with their students. When comparing School B and School A teachers, there were no differences in their out-of-school contacts with Indian students. Of course, the interns and one teacher who lives in Menominee County have had more opportunities for participation with students. These activities included fishing, hiking, picnics, horseback riding, going to the circus, helping with Girl Scouts, inviting children over for dinner, and visiting some of them at their homes.

## Teacher-Parent Contact

One Menominee County teacher (6%) had met "a few parents", who were asked to attend conferences concerning problems their children were experiencing in school. Twenty-eight percent (5) had met some Indian parents at school, in Parent-teacher conferences and during PTA. Twenty-eight percent (5) of the respondents indicated they had opportunities to meet many parents (40-70%) at conferences and PTA. Occasions such as Parent-teacher conferences, Open House, PTA, and parents paying for their children's lunch or pictures, enabled one-third (6) of the teachers to meet most of their students' parents.

All teachers at School B and seven at School A were asked if Menominee parents seemed interested and concerned about their children's school performance and adjustment. Unanimously, teachers agreed that parents were both interested and cooperative.

While School B teachers indicated parents were concerned and cooperative, unlike most School A teachers, they appeared to lack respect for Menominee parents as people and competent child rearers. Two teachers (33% - interns) believed that "for the most part the parents are very interested and cooperative". One teacher commented: "They [parents] seem interested -- I've had no trouble with any parent". (One wonders if they teacher is saying, "Parents probably aren't interested, and I expected trouble but have been lucky so far.")

Half of School B teachers (3) appeared to like teaching at School B because they perceived their position as one of authority and power. Powerful, because parents listened to them and followed their advice. In this way, teachers "controlled" the parents, who were regarded as incapable of working effectively with their children without the teacher.

## Teachers' Assessment of the Major Problems Confronting Menominees

Teachers' assessments of the major problems of the Menominees are varied. Eleven percent (2) did not feel they had enough knowledge about the situation to comment.

Two respondents (11%) regarded economic problems as the major difficulties confronting Menominees.

Poverty coupled with apathy or a fractionalized society were the major problems mentioned by seventeen percent (3) of Menominee County teachers. Twenty eight percent (5) of the respondents regarded poor family life as the primary problem Menominees experienced. Adjusting to termination and the larger society were considered the major Menominee problems by two teachers (11%). Two respondents (11%) viewed Menominee problems as a complex interaction of many factors within the County and outside it.

## Teachers' Perception of Menominee Family Life and Its Effect on Education

Eighty-three percent (15) of Menominee County teachers believed the home environment of Indian students was poor. In their opinion aspects of that environment contributed to the problems Menominee children experienced at school.

Thirty-eight percent (7) regarded aspects of family life as the primary causes of the high Indian drop out rate. One teacher (6%) mentioned several areas where poor home life and lack of parental responsibility created problems for the school.

Questionnaire data provided information on teachers' attitudes toward specific aspects of Menominee family life. Twenty-two percent of the respondents indicated that Menominee parents treated their children with love and respect equal to that given children by White parents; six percent felt this was not characteristic of Indian parents. Indians allowed other people to take advantage of them, according to six percent of the teachers; twenty-eight percent felt this situation did not occur. One respondent (6%) considered Menominees as incompetent in practical matters; twenty-two percent regarded them as competent.

A composite of responses to various questions reflected teachers' concept of the relationships between the school and Menominee parents. Thirty-eight percent of the respondents recognized a conflict between the values Indian parents taught children and those articulated by the school; 6% felt the conflict did not exist, and eleven percent were unable to decide. However, only eleven percent felt that regardless of "what we do in school, the culture of Indian [Menominee] children impedes their learning". No one regarded tribal religious belief as inhibiting students' learning abilties. Thirty-eight percent agreed that teachers often "must counteract what the Indian child is taught at home [in order] to prepare him to live in today's society". On this matter, eleven percent were undecided and six percent disagreed. Only one teacher (6%) considered encouraging children to become independent of parental control as part of her role.

Indian students' family background did not support education, according to eleven percent of the respondents; most (39%) felt it was neither supporting nor impeding education. Twenty-two percent indicated that Indian parents "want to help their children in school;" one respondent felt this was not true. Indian parents were characterized as "very anxious for their children to learn at school" by thirty-nine percent of Menominee County teachers.

## Teachers' Attitudes Toward Assimilation

In the interview teachers were asked to define "what Menominee students needed most in their education". It was hoped this question would serve as a projective indication of assimilation attitudes. In one case (6%),a respondent felt the "sooner Indians adopted White 'ways' the better it would be for everyone".

Three Menominee County teachers (17%) did not make as forceful a statement. However, they stressed proper behavior and direction as the most important aspects of education for Indian children. An assimilation orientation underlays their thinking.

"Encouragement to learn" was the primary educational ingredient mentioned by two teachers (11%). One respondent's comments were directed toward encouraging Indians to assimilate.

One teacher (6%) stressed the need for good teachers "who like children" and are not "working for that dollar, but . . . for the best education they can give the child". However, the teacher's definition of education was very rigid and her approach intimidated children. Her emphasis was strictly on the "three Rs," and she was insensitive to the cultural differences and needs of her students.

Basic skills were considered the most important educational aspect by twenty-two percent of the respondents. None of them commented on Indian culture in their responses.

One-third of the teachers (6 — including the interns) evaluated the educational needs of Menominee children, recognizing the individuality of students and the Menominee culture they represented. Their assessments were not assimilation-oriented. Their comments suggested a need for change in the school structure to enable the schools to meet the educational needs of Menominee children. These teachers also had stressed the importance of including Menominee history and materials in the curriculum in their interviews.

Thirty-five percent of the teachers were assimilation-oriented. This attitude characterized 44% of the School A respondents, 17% of School B's, and one-third of those teachers who worked in both schools.

Neutral assimilation positions were given by half of School B's teacher and by twenty two percent of School A's. (When field work was done at School B, teachers were very guarded and reluctant to discuss this issue.)

One-third of Menominee County's teachers felt that the identity of Menominees should be preserved; interestingly, one-third of the respondents in each category concurred.

Questionnaire data provided a more precise measure of assimilation attitudes, at least for School A teachers. All but one School B teacher refused to complete the questionnaire; they felt the information requested in the questionnaires was too controversial because of "demands" the Menominee County Parent Group was making.

Twenty-two percent of School A's teachers felt that "Indian people should become completely assimilated iwth the larger American society", one-third were undecided and one-third felt such merging was not desirable. The School B teacher and those respondents who taught in both schools opposed this degree of assimilation.

In a second question, teachers were asked to select the attitude which best described their opinion on assimilation and the schools.

One School A teacher (11%) felt Indian students should respect "some Indian 'ways' yet change predominantly toward the White 'ways'". Nearly half (44%) chose the "man of two cultures position", i.e., orienting Indian students to combine both ways. Two respondents (22%) selected three conflicting assimilation attitudes; this may reflect their own uncertainty regarding the issue or a misunderstanding of how to answer the question (see table below).

The School B teacher felt the "man of two cultures" position best represented her opinion.

Two teachers who taught in both schools (66%) chose the least assimilation-oriented position -- orienting Indian students "to accept some White 'ways' but to remain predominantly identified with Indian 'ways'".

At School A, twenty two percent of the teachers agreed that the school encouraged Indians to "change predominantlytoward White 'ways' and eleven percent thought the school oriented Indians to "remain predominantly identified with Indian 'ways'". One respondent at School A rated the school position as more assimilation-oriented than her own; in two cases, personal and school opinions were congruent; and one respondent ranked her position as more assimilation-oriented than the schools.

The respondent from School B rated the school as more assimilation-oriented. She felt it encouraged Indian students to "change predominantly toward White 'ways'".

A more assimilation-prone position also was held by the school according to the teachers who worked in both schools. They ranked the schools as: 1) orienting Indians to "slowly lose identification with the Indian 'ways', to assure adaptation to White 'ways' of doing things;" and 2) orienting Indians to "change predominantly toward White 'ways'".

Including Menominee Culture in the Curriculum

While recognizing the existence of tribal culture, twenty-two percent (4) of Menominee County teachers did nothing to encourage or discourage its meaning to their Indian students. Half were critical of the poor Indian image presented in books and the media.

Thirty-nine percent of the respondents (7) made limited efforts to incorporate aspects of Menominee culture in their classes. However, their treatment of Menominees was terse and superficial. The librarian at School A and School B lamented both libraries' lack of books on Menominees. Twenty-eight percent (5) of the teachers made concerted efforts to use local cultural materials in all of their classes and had prepared and presented detailed units on aspects of Menominee culture. Four of the teachers were interns.

Differences regarding the incorporation of Menominee materials in the curriculum emerged between the schools at School A and School B. Half of School B's teachers did not include Menominee culture in any aspect of teaching; at School A this situation characterized eleven percent of the staff. Menominee culture was accorded superficial treatment by over half of School A's teachers, but only seventeen percent of School B's. Fairly extensive use of local culture materials was supported by the interns in each school, and by the reading consultant.

Respondents were less favorably disposed toward the idea of using local cultural materials as subject matter in regular courses. Forty-three percent endorsed the proposition, while eleven percent were unable to decide on the desirability of the change.

## Teachers' Perceptions of Menominee Students

Seventeen percent (3) of Menominee County teachers rigidly stereotyped their Indian students. They regarded Indians as quiet, withdrawn, reluctant to participate in classroom activities, good with their hands, etc.

Less rigid stereotypes were expressed by one-third (6) of the respondents. While six percent (1) had little knowledge of their students, they did not have stereotyped images of the children, and made efforts to understand them as individuals. A larger percentage (11%) of the teachers had developed insight into their Indian students. This insight, growing from knowledge of the children's background and acceptance of students' individualities and unique abilities prevented teachers from adopting stereotyped perceptions of Menominees. However, these teachers did not have a good understanding of Menominee children as members of a cultural group. This awareness, coupled with the realization that each Indian child is also an individual, was apparent in the responses of one-third (6) of Menominee County teachers.

School B teachers tended to stereotype students more than respondents at School A. Sixty-six percent of School B teachers but only forty-four percent of School A teachers held stereotyped images of their students.

In a questionnaire teachers were asked to respond to statements regarding Indian students. Seven School A teachers (78%), one School B teacher (17%) and one teacher who worked at both schools completed the questionnaire. Twenty-two percent of Menominee County teachers felt Indian students preferred to have a good time rather than work hard to get ahead, an equal percent rejected this negative stereotype, and eleven percent evaluated the statement as neither true nor false. Indian students were regarded as shy and lacking confidence by six percent of the respondents, twenty-two percent rejected this stereotype, and an equal proportion considered the statement as neither true nor false. Two teachers (17%) felt Indian children were well behaved;

however, one commented, "They can be very well behaved with the help of a firm teacher." Twenty-eight percent of the respondents indicated that Menominee children were not well behaved, while 17 % could not generalize about their students' behavior. Seventeen percent of Menominee County teachers regarded Indian children braver and more courageous than White children, twenty-two percent rejected the stereotype, and seventeen percent felt the statement was neither true nor false.

## Teachers' Perception of Menominee Students' Interest in the Academic Aspects of School

Eleven percent of Menominee County teachers indicated that their Indian students were disinterested in the academic aspect of school. One respondent attributed this attitude to rigid classroom structure. Nearly all teachers (72%) indicated that their students were interested in learning. In questionnaire data, seventeen percent of the teachers indicated that their students were eager to learn, while an equal percent felt they were not.

## Teachers' Attitudes Toward Teaching Menominee Children

One-third (6) of Menominee County teachers expressed fairly neutral attitudes about teaching Indian children. Most regarded teaching Indians as neither easier nor harder than teaching other students. Half of the respondents found certain aspects of teaching Indian children more difficult, and the other easier.

## Teachers' Evaluation of Their Effectiveness With Menominee Students

Twenty-eight percent (5) of Menominee County teachers indicated they "did not really know how to communicate" with Indian children. Eleven percent were ambivalent, while seventeen percent felt they could communicate with their students. (There were no data available for forty-four percent of the teachers.)

## Teachers' Recommendations for Improving Their Effectiveness With Menominee Students

Teachers were asked to recommend changes or programs that would increase their effectiveness with Menominee children. Their recommendations varied. Twenty-two percent (4) suggested reducing class size to provide a better learning environment. Seventeen percent (3) of the respondents recommended increasing opportunities for teachers to gain knowledge of Menominees and their communities. Two teachers (11%), both from School B Community, concurred that more playground equipment and opportunities to teach children how to play were matters needing immediate attention.

Curriculum change, especially including Menominee cultural materials, was recommended by one-third of the teachers (6). It was the only recommendation offered by one teacher.

The other five respondents made many suggestions for improving the education of Menominee children. These included hiring teacher aides, changing the school structure, more carefully selecting teachers, new approaches to subject matter, and more parental involvement in the schools.

## Teachers' Recommendations Regarding Special Training for Teachers and Administrators

Seventeen percent (3) of Menominee County Teachers regarded special preparation for teaching Indian children unnecessary. A vague positive response to the concept of special training for teachers who work with Indian children was given by twenty-two percent (4) of the staff. They perceived preparation as "possibly helpful", but certainly not necessary. Two respondents (11%) were more receptive to the concept of teacher preparation and recommended a minimal amount of training. Forty-four percent of the respondents (8) made constructive recommendations for improving teacher training and had insight and suggestions

Twenty-two percent (4) of the respondents felt administrators did not need special training to work effectively with Indian people. A vague positive response to the idea was given by five teachers (28%) who conceded that special training or past teaching experience with Indians would be helpful for administrators. Stronger recommendations for special training or experience for administrators were endorsed by forty-four percent (8) of the teachers.

## XII

## MIDDLE SCHOOL TEACHERS AND THE EDUCATION OF MENOMINEE INDIAN CHILDREN

Fieldwork for the National Study of American Indian Education was done at Middle School during April 1969. Preliminary meetings were held with the principal to clarify NSAIE procedures and make arrangements for contacting Middle School teachers. The principal indicated that the NSAIE was beginning at the

> worst possible time because Indian parents are on the rampage. They are really tearing us down. Teachers are reacting and many may not be very receptive. I can hardly blame them. I will support the study but you will have to sell the study [to the teachers].

The Middle School fieldworker described the administrations attitude toward the NSAIE:

> The school administration is guardedly cooperative with me. I do feel that they are not straining to help me get on with the project. But the principal has assured me that he will assist in any way possible. Thus far any and all information I have asked for is and has been made available.

During the research Menominee County Students and Parents for Better Education, to which the principal referred, were meeting to discuss the education of their children. They received press coverage and were also telling District Eight what they believed were the primary inequalities and failures of the school system. Also while NSAIE was in progress, a rumor -- NSAIE researchers were disseminating taped interviews and questionnaires completed by Middle School teachers to Menomine people -- circulated in the school. Ms. Karon Sherarts, who directed the research in District Eight, addressed the inaccuracy of these rumors in personal letters to every Middle School teacher. [See beginning of this Summary Report.]

Middle School teachers were generally cooperative and in sympathy with the goals of the NSAIE. The study's purpose was presented to them at a regularly scheduled faculty meeting. Teachers were receptive. Their anonymity in questionnaires and interviews was assured. Twenty seven Middle School teachers participated in the study. Only two teachers on the staff decided against contributing to the study. Twenty teachers completed questionnaire data, twenty seven were interviewed. Throughout this report questionnaire data percentages are based on twenty and interview data percentages on twenty-seven.

The fieldworker found Middle School teachers sincere and very concerned about discipline and maintaining authority over students.

The fieldworker also observed that most Middle School teachers believed Menominee students preferred art above all other courses; but that an art instructor felt this was not true:

> Practically all the teachers, without exception, state that the major study interest of the Menominee pupil is art. You will note that [the art instructor] does not feel that there is any special inclination toward art. And that there is no greater interest in the art classes by the Menominee pupil than with any other students.

The Middle School had a very rigid structure and a proliferation of rules for both students and teachers. The Middle School's emphasis on authority and rules was very apparent to the fieldworker:

> There is, of course, the question of the rules and whether there are too many and whether they are too stringent and concentrate on too many small things.

One teacher also commented on the administration's rigidity:

> Verbally they [Middle School administrators] support innovation, but give little support, encouragement or extentions to innovations. Administrators are neither imaginative nor creative. They fail to recognize innovations - let alone appreciate them, encourage and support them.

Teacher Characteristics

Forty-four percent (12) of the respondents were female. Fifty-six percent (15) were male. Participants ranged from twenty-two to fifty-eight years of age.

Three fourths (20) of the teachers were married, seven percent (2) were single. No data were available for nineteen percent (5).

All respondents held a B.S. or B.A degree. Eleven percent (3) had either an M.S. or M.A.

Fifteen percent (4) of the participants indicated fluency in German. All respondents were Caucasian.

With regard to experience one teacher was completing her first year, twenty-six percent (7) had five to nine years experience, fifty-six percent (15) ten to nineteen years experience, fifteen percent (4) twenty to twenty-seven years experience and one respondents had taught thirty-four years. Forty-one percent of the respondents were completing their first year at the Middle School, and thirty percent (8) had taught there for over ten years. Thirty-seven percent (10) of the respondents had taught Indian students before they came to Middle School. Teachers indicated from one to nineteen years of previous experience.

Respondents were asked to identify the subject areas and grade levels they taught. Nineteen percent taught sixth grade, thirty seven percent grades six through eight, nineteen percent seventh grade and twenty two percent eighth grade. With regard to subject area, twenty six percent of the respondents taught language arts, eleven percent social studies, twenty two percent science and/or math, eleven percent fine arts. Seven percent of the participants taught in each of the following categories: special education, physical education, vocational education and other.

## Assessment of the Problems Facing Menominee People

Middle School participants had limited experience with Menominee people. Teachers were uninformed about Menominee life, and had not made concentrated efforts to increase their knowledge and understanding of Menominee people. A few teachers had given Indian students rides home after athletic events, twenty two percent had made "home visits" in Menominee County to register students for summer school, others had driven in the County, or made social visits.

Middle School teachers were asked to assess the major problems of Menominee people. Thirty seven (10) regarded themselves as unqualified to respond to the question intelligently. Eleven percent (3) of the respondents believed economic difficulties were the most pressing. Forty one percent (11) of Middle School teachers identified aspects of Menominee culture (home environments, lack of responsibility, lack of moral values, and value conflicts between Menominee and the White ways of life) as the major problems confronting Menominee people. Two respondents (7%) believed prejudices held by White people and Menominee people created problems.

## Middle School Teachers' Out-of-School Contacts With Menominee Students

A few teachers (7%-2) reported that Indian students had never talked about or mentioned out of school activities to them; nor had these respondents participated or observed Indian students in out-of-school activities.

Seventy-eight percent (21) of the respondents indicated Indian students discussed out-of-school activities with them. However, these teachers had rarely observed students in school-related outside activities. Three teachers (11%), two who coached junior high sports and one with Upward Bound and Study Center experience, participated in Menominee students' out-of-school activities.

## Teachers Contact With Menominee Parents

Seven percent (2) of the Middle School teachers had no contact with Indian parents. Eighty-one percent (22) of the respondents had met a few Indian parents at Open House, Parents Night or in conferences. One teacher (7%) had met most of his Indian students' parents.

## Teachers' Perceptions of Menominee Family Life and Parental Commitment to Formal Education

Thirty-five percent of the respondents regarded Indian parents as similar to White parents. Indians treated their children with love and respect. However, thirty percent felt Indian parents were poor parents not only did they fail to respect their children, Indians were also incompetent in practical matters. Thirty-five percent regarded Indians as competent. A few respondents (20%) thought Indians let others take advantage of them, while half indicated this situation did not occur.

Middle School teachers were asked to identify factors which caused Menominee students to drop out of school. Teacher's assessments varied. [No data were available for three (11%) participants.] Seven percent (2) believed there were no "drop outs", only "push outs". The School system, its curriculum and structure in failing to meet the needs of Menominee youth became a frustrating, failure producing an environment which "pushed out" many Menominee students.

A few respondents (2-7%) indicated that aspects of the school system and of Menominee culture contributed to the high Indian drop out rate in District Eight.

Two-thirds (18) of Middle School teachers believed that aspects of Menominee culture - family life (9-33%), values (41-15%) or attitudes characteristic of Menominee youth (5-19%) - stimulated dropouts. Family life was most frequently mentioned. Parents failed to support education, were too permissive, and were critical of District Eight Schools.

Several respondents (6-22%) identified certain attitudes as characteristic of Menominee youth. Among these were, lack of effort, disinterest in learning, interest in independence or money. Although respondents failed to discuss the factors which stimulated these attitudes, Menominee culture, or family life are inferred.

Questionnaire data indicated teachers' perceptions of [Menominee] parents commitment to education. One-third of the respondents felt Indian parents were anxious for their children to learn at school, thirty five percent felt parents were not. Fewer teachers (20%) suggested that parents wanted to help children in school; thirty five percent felt parents were disinterested. Two respondents who selected "neither" for both questions. Over half of the respondents (65%) agreed that the family background of Indian children did not support education, twenty percent felt home life was supportive.

## Teachers' Attitudes Towards Assimilation vs Pluralism

Questionnaire data suggested that teachers perceived conflicts between Menominee values and those of formal education. Most participants (75%) perceived conflicts between Menominee values and school values. Only five percent indicated there was no conflict.) However, only forty percent believed that Menominee culture impeded learning. Ten percent considered tribal religious beliefs as impediments to learning. Most respondents (70%) felt that in the process of preparing Indians to live in "todays' society", they frequently counteracted what children were taught at home. (Only one teacher felt she did not do this). Only thirty percent of the participants indicated that teachers should encourage Indians to become more independent of parental control. Teachers who were ambivalent about these issues chose the "undecided" category.

Questionnaire data also gave teachers an opportunity to respond to specific assimilation-oriented statements. Sixty percent of the questionnaire respondents felt Indian people should become completely assimilated into American society, ten percent were undecided, while fifty five percent disagreed with the assimilation-oriented philosophies.

Teachers were aslo asked to select one of four policy statements which most accurately reflected their opinion and the Middle School's opinion concerning assimilation. All respondents regarded the school's position as more assimilation oriented than their own. Five percent preferred orienting Indians to lose identification with Indian traditions to "secure adoption to White ways of doing things". However, fifteen percent felt the Middle School was pursuing this policy. Orienting Indian students to respect aspects of Indian tradition but "to change predominantly toward the White ways", was endorsed by twenty percent of the respondents, and attributed to the school by five percent of the teachers. A combination of the above two positions was selected as the school's policy by ten percent of the teachers. The "man of two worlds" orientation was selected by forty percent of the respondents, twenty percent regarded the school as promoting this attitude. Five percent personally endorsed a combination of positions II and III. While only one respondent (5%) felt Indians should accept some White ways but retain a predominant Indian identification, ten percent opted for a combination of positions III and IV. Twenty percent of the respondents were unable to select a position and chose two or more opposing positions to express their ambivalence.

Interview data was not as precise as questionnaire data. A few respondents (15%-4) expressed assimilation oriented views in their interviews. Their thinking: "the sooner Indians become fully acculturated to White society, the better life would be for everyone".

Eleven percent (3) of the respondents felt education should enable Indians to adopt a "man of two cultures orientation". They defined Indian students needs as 1) to retain aspects of their heritage; 2) to learn the skills necessary to compete in modern America.

Most Middle School teachers (70%-19) did not discuss negative or positive aspects of Indian identity or its relationship to education. Their discussions centered on offering Indian students a background of the skills and knowledge necessary to compete in modern America, or motivation to pursue this goal.

A few teachers (11%-3) observed a lack of direction in Indian students, and attributed this to conflicts between their culture and "White" culture. Several teachers (26%-7) regarded skills and proper attitudes for attaining skills as the primary educational need of Indian students.

## Teacher Practice and Attitudes Toward Including Menominee Culture in the Curriculum

Most teachers (70%-19) did not include aspects of Menominee culture in their curricula. Occasionally thirty percent (8) of the respondents mentioned aspects of Menominee culture in their classes. However, only superficial aspects of culture were included.

Eleven participants (41%) were asked their opinion on including aspects of Menominee culture in the cirriculum. One-third (9) did not include such information in their classes. Three (11%) saw no advantages to incorporating Menominee culture. Cautious appraisal to approval was given by three teachers who suggested "some, but not too much" Menominee culture should be part of the curriculum. Two respondents (7%) felt it was important to integrate aspects of the Menominee culture in the existing school curriculum.

Questionnaire data also examined teacher attitudes toward including aspects of Menominee culture in Middle School curriculum. Half the respondents felt courses covering Menominee history and culture should be a part of the curriculum; one felt they should not be offered, while forty percent were ambivalent. Teachers were less receptive to the idea of using Menominee cultural material as subject matter in regular courses. Forty-five percent supported the idea, fifteen percent rejected it, and thirty-five percent remained ambivalent.

## Overall Perceptions

Most respondents (70%-19) held many stereotyped perceptions of Menominees and Menominee students. Thirty percent (8) were uninformed about Indians but made efforts to understand the students and their individual differences.

Questionnaire data indicated that teachers assigned negative or positive stereotypes to Menominee students. A few respondents (15%) regarded Indian youth as more brave and courageous than White youth (a positive stereotype), forty five percent rejected the perception (a negative stereotype), and forty percent refused to stereotype Menominee youth. With regard to classroom behavior, sixty percent viewed Menominee negatively (shy, lacking confidence) while twenty percent expressed positive stereotypes. Seventy five percent of Middle School teachers perceived Menominee students overall school behavior as negative, sharing the opinion that. "Menominees were [not] well-behaved, nor did they obey school rules."

Attitudes Toward Teaching Menominee Youth

In the interview teachers were asked if it was easier or harder to teach Indians and if they would encourage a friend to teach Indians. Based on data from these questions fifty-four percent (12) of the Middle School teachers would prefer teaching non-Indian children. Lack of skills, inattentiveness, discipline and teacher-frustrations were frequently mentioned as making teaching Indians more difficult.

One-fourth(7) of the respondents believed there were very few major differences between teaching Indians and non-Indians. Although the job was, at times, frustrating they approached Indians with some understanding and a neutral attitude.

Middle School teachers were asked to evaluate their effectiveness with Menominee students. One fourth expressed confidence in their ability to communicate with Indian students, fifteen percent did not and ten percent were unable to access this aspect of their relationships with Indian students.

Teachers described the characteristics of "good students" and indicated which, if any, Menominee youth lacked. Their definitions were rigid and teacher centered. Respondents identified "good students" as possessing skills, competence and interest (responsibility, completing assignments, promptness, cooperation, a decent IQ, initiative). making an "honest effort to learn," or goal oriented. Generally teachers believed that Menominee students lacked these qualities. A few respondents (15%-3) did not believe that Indians, as a group, lacked certain qualities.

One-third of the teachers agreed that Indians needed help to acquire skill-oriented "qualities": self discipline, responsibility, desire to complete assignments on time, being prepared, cooperation, caring, learning how to study, reading, getting a higher IQ score, trying hard. Thirty percent (8) of the respondents believed Indians lack the desire or motivation to learn. A few teachers (3-11%) observed that Indians made no efforts to learn. Lack of goals was the missing quality identified by three teachers (11%).

In response to another question Middle School teachers indicated which qualities distinguished "good Menominee" students from "poor Menominee students". Most teachers (78%) mentioned skills and motivations. A few opinions were significant. Some participants believed, a "good home background" was the distinguishing factor. Good relationships with White students was also identified as a distinctive quality of "good Menominee students". One teacher regarded both a good home background and positive relationships with White students as the primary qualitie of "good Menominee students".

## Teachers Perceptions of Menominee Students Interest in the Academic Aspects of School

Data from questionnaires affirmed teachers beliefs that most Indians were not interested in education. Half indicated Indians would rather have a good time than work hard to get ahead, forty percent were unable to decide but only one respondent felt the statement was not true.

In response to a second question all participants concluded that Indian students were not eager students, nor did they possess a "highly developed desire to learn".

In the interview teachers were asked to identify the aspects of school (overall and courses) which Indian students enjoyed and disliked. Seventy-four percent (20) of the Middle School teachers indicated that Indian students were not interested in the academic aspect of school. Most Indian students were not motivated to achieve and preferred non-academic aspects of school (i.e. athletics, social contact). Art "working with their hands", athletics and peers were frequently mentioned as "enjoyed" aspects. Academics, reading and work were generally regarded as "disliked" Fifteen percent (4) of the respondents regarded Menominee students as somewhat interested in the academic aspect of school.

A few teachers (19%-5) were unable to generalize about the liked and dislikes of the Indian students. They viewed Menominees as individuals with differences.

## Menominee Students and Discipline

Nineteen percent (5) of the teachers indicated that Indians presented no special discipline problems. Most teachers (70%-19) indicated that Indian students created more or special discipline problems in the classroom. Teachers had differing perceptions of the type and cause of discipline problems. They regarded the cause of discipline as: home environment (30%-8) and racial resentment (11%-3). One-third of the respondents did not discuss causes but types of discipline problems.

## Special Courses: Preparation for Teachers

Nineteen percent (5) of the respondents felt special training was unnecessary for potential or current teachers of Indian children. They regarded Indian needs as "no different than White students". Twenty two percent (6) of the Middle School teachers agreed that basically Indians were no different than White students. They acknowledged that some knowledge of Indian culture might be "good" for teachers. Fifteen percent (4) of the teachers indicated vague, but positive responses to special training (or education) for working with Indian youth. In their opinion training would be helpful but not necessary to effectively teach Indian pupils.

Nineteen percent (5) of the respondents strongly recommended special training in teacher preparation. Two teachers felt such training was necessary because teachers "don't understand Indian kids". Another respondent suggested courses taught by Indian people

## Preparation for Administrators

Teachers were also asked whether administrators needed special courses, experiences or guidance as preparation for working with Indians and how this preparation should differ from that given to teachers. Thirty percent (8) indicated that school administrators did not need special training to handle Indian people effectively. Three respondents defended District Eight's administration. Twenty-six percent (7) of the respondents endorsed a minimum amount of training for administrators. One teacher criticized the Middle School administration's bonding of Menominee students minor infractions.

## Aids for Less Successful Menominee Students

Several respondents (6-22%) utilized methods to helping less successful Indian students improve their academic performance. Frequently, teachers individualized instruction. Lowering standards to the ability levels of low achievers was implemented by fifteen percent (4) of the respondents. Seven percent (2) of the teachers related their subject matter to students' interests. Seven percent (2) stressed the importance of motivating unsuccessful Indian students. Encouraging Indian students by talking to them was a method used by two respondents (7%).

## Curriculum Changes Which Would Improve the Quality of Education Offered to Menominee Youth

Participants were asked to recommend changes of programs to aid them in teaching Indian youth. Seven percent (2) suggested more emphasis on vocational education. Changes in reading programs were recommended by fifteen percent (4) of the respondents. One teacher (4%) became frustrated when she individualized instruction in her large class. She recommended reducing class size. Tutoring groups of Indian students with similar deficiencies was recommended by one respondent. Eleven percent (3) commented on including Indian culture in the curriculum. Only one respondent actually recommended including Indian culture but only if other units on other minorities were also taught.

One-third of the participants (9) did not make recommendations for improving Indian education. Their comments were addressed to upgrading education for all students.

## XIII

# HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS AND THE EDUCATION OF MENOMINEE INDIAN CHILDREN

Prior to beginning research in May, 1969 two researchers met with High School teachers to discuss the NSAIE's purpose and establish cooperation between teachers and the study. Several teachers who attended expressed hostile attitudes toward the study and its objectives. In May, Menominee County Students and Parents for Better Education were meeting and confronting the district. This situation made teachers more suspicious of the study. Perhaps the rumor which circulated during research at the Middle School also stimulated the negative teacher attitudes. The rumor - NSAIE researchers were disseminating the taped interviews and questionnaires completed by Middle School teachers to Menominees. Ms. Karon Sherarts who directed the research in District Eight schools, addressed the rumor in a letter. She also found the High School administration to be generally disinterested in the study but minimally cooperative. One study participant confirmed Ms. Sherarts observations:

> The study's a good thing. Unfortunately the faculty has been mislead by the administration. They had a meeting designed to make us uncooperative and scotch the study before it got here. Otherwise I like this school system. There could be improvements. But the faculty seems to be trying hard.

To insure anonymity teachers' names were not used on any data. Interviews and questionnaires were given arbitrary numbers and these numbers were not identified with names.

Sixty teachers were on the High School faculty, twenty (33%) returned forms indicating they would not participate, seven who said they would participate did not show up for their scheduled interview. Twenty teachers (33%) actually participated in the study. Well over half of those who did not participate wrote "No!" or "Prefer not to be interviewed!" on their form, sometimes in large capital letters.

## High School Teacher Characteristics

The twenty participants in the NSAIE were Caucasian. Seventy percent (14) were male, thirty percent (6) were female. Most respondents (85%) were married, fifteen percent (3) were single. Teachers ranged from twenty three to sixty five years old. Thirty percent (6) were thirty or younger, thirty percent were over forty.

Sixty-five percent (13) of the participants held B.S. or B.A. degrees. One-fourth (5), had M.A. or M.S. degrees. One respondent did not have a college degree.

One-fourth of High School teachers spoke foreign languages: French (10%), Spanish (10%), and French and Spanish (5%).

A few teachers (15%) were completing their first year of teaching, others had from three to twenty-eight years of experience. One-fourth of the participants were completing their first year at High School, nearly half had taught there for seven years or longer.

Thirty percent (6) of the respondents had taught Indian students before they came to High School.

Teachers were asked to indicate the subject area and grade levels of the courses they offered. Grade level data is incomplete. Twenty-five percent of the respondents taught social sciences, five percent language, one-fourth science and/or math, five percent art, twenty-five percent vocational education, ten percent physical education and five percent drivers education.

## Assessments of the Problems Facing Menominee People

Thirty percent of the respondents had little knowledge of Menominee people or their communities. These teachers had not been in the County and had only classroom contact with Indian youth.

Fifteen percent (3) High School teachers indicated limited experience with the Indian communities in Menominee County. Although these teachers had visited Menominee County and had some out of school contacts with Indian people, they had not made a concerted effort to become knowledgeable about Menominee people. Fifteen percent (3) of the teachers were somewhat more knowledgeable about Menominee people

One third (30%-6) of the respondents had fairly frequent contacts with Menominee people. They were quite well informed about Menominee County and displayed a good understanding of the dilemmas facing Menominee people.

## High School Teachers' Contact With Menominee Parents

Fifteen percent (3) of the High School teachers had no contact with Indian parents. They had not met them or even talked with them via telephone. Twenty percent (4) of the respondents had contact with several Indian parents during the year. However, these meetings were informal -- after games, Open House. One third (6) of high school teachers had opportunities to meet most of the parents of their Indian students. Again, most of the contacts were informal - Open House, athletic events.

## Teachers' Perceptions of Menominee Family Life and Its Relationship to Education

Questionnaire data provided insight into teachers' perceptions of Menominee family life. Fifteen percent of the respondents felt

Indian people were "incompetent concerning practical things". Half felt this was not characteristic of Indians. Again, fifteen percent believed Indians let other people take advantage of them. Nearly half (45%) rejected these opinions. Fifty-five percent of the teachers felt that the love and respect Indian parents offered their children was equal to that given by White parents to their children.

Teachers were asked to identify factors which caused Indian students to drop out of school. [No data were available for three (15%) of the teachers.] Thirty percent (6) of the respondents attributed dropping out to an incompatibility between school structure and Indian students attitudes or personality traits: "laziness, doing things by mood -- not time, and no concern for education". The environmental situation or homelife of Menominee youth were regarded as dropout provoking factors by one-fourth of the teachers: i.e. lack of parental interest, poor home life, parental unemployment and lack of job responsibility were mentioned. Five percent (1) of the respondents regarded the failure of school to meet the educational needs of Indian students as the prime cause of dropouts.

A combination of factors was cited by fifteen percent (3) of the teachers. These factors included: poor home environment, differences in values, transportation problems, study habits, and peer group pressure.

Thirty-five percent of the respondents indicated the existence of a conflict between "what Indian parents taught their children and what the high school tried to teach them. One fourth were unable to determine if such a conflict existed. A larger proportion of teachers (45%) felt they were often forced to counteract what Indian children were taught "at home [in order] to prepare them [for life] in today's society". Twenty percent were unable to determine if this was true. Despite the existence of value conflict, only twenty five percent of the respondents felt teachers should encourage Indian students to become more independent of parental control. Twenty percent of the teachers regarded Indian culture as an impediment to learning, five percent regarded "tribal religious beliefs" as an impediment.

## Teachers' Assessment of Menominee Parents Commitment to Education

Questionnaire data assessed teachers' perceptions of Indian parents interest in the educaton of their children. Half of the respondents felt Indian parents "wanted to keep their children in school", less (40%) regarded Indian parents as "anxious for their children to learn" and only thirty percent believed the "family background of Indian students was supportive" of education. High School teachers believed Menominee parents commitment to education decreased as the level of parental commitment changed from a desire to help children learn to actually creating and maintaining an environment which stimulated learning. The inverse trend was verified. Teachers selected "false" as the level of parental commitment increased. Fifteen percent felt parents did not want to help their children in school, one-fourth believed Indian parents were not anxious for their children to learn and one-third regarded the family background as unsupportive of learning.

## High School Teacher Attitudes Toward Assimilation and Pluralism

Several questions on the interviews and questionnaires were designed to assess teachers attitudes toward assimilation. Questionnaire data provided a more accurate indication of teachers' assimilation attitudes. Thirty percent of the respondents agreed that Indians should become completely assimilated with the larger American society, four percent disagreed, while twenty percent remained undecided.

Teachers were also asked to indicate which of several assimilation positions most clearly expressed both their attitude and the Middle

School attitudes toward assimilation. Teachers regarded the school as more assimilations oriented than their individual opinions. While one fourth indicated the school was oriented toward Indians "assuring Indians adaptation to White ways of doing things", only five percent personally endorsed this position. A somewhat more liberal position -- orienting "Indian students to respect some Indian ways, yet change predominantly toward White "ways", was endorsed by ten percent of the teachers, and attributed to the school by one (5%) respondent. Five percent agreed that their opinion and the school's opinion on assimilation fell somewhere between the above discussed opinions. Nearly half of the respondents agreed that they accepted the man of two cultures view and forty percent indicated this was the position of the School. The most Indian oriented assimilation position (IV) was selected by ten percent of the respondents as a reflection of their opinions, one teacher viewed her position as a combination of II and IV.

Interview data was also designed to access teachers attitudes toward assimilation. The data is not as precise as the questionnaire data. Teachers were asked to identify what Indian students needed most in their education. Forty-five percent of the respondents (9) did not directly address the assmiliation issue. They specified the goal of education as equipping students with the skills and knowledge which are necessary to compete in Modern America.

Ten percent (2) of the respondents identified the Indian students' immediate need as motivation from parents. Parental interest, guidance and support of education were regarded as having the greatest motivating potential.

One fourth (5) of high school teachers directly addressed the influence Indian culture had on education and indicated their opinions about assimilation. Three teachers (15%) expressed strong assimilation-oriented opinions. They discussed Indian students lack of respect for authority, nonconforming behavior in the school system which was perpetuated by the values of Menominee culture.

Two teachers (10%) recognized value differences between Menominee culture and the school structure. They also believed the "White ways" were not always best for Indian youth and their response expressed support for the "Man of two cultures" position.

## High School Teachers' Perceptions of the Relationships Between Menominee Culture and Curriculum: Actual and Ideal

None of the teachers who were interviewed included aspects of Menominee in their curricula, nor did they use Menominee resource people. A few respondents occasionally mentioned something about Indian culture during the course of the year.

In a questionnaire, teachers were asked to respond to the idea of including Menominee history and culture in the curriculum. Sixty percent regarded the idea favorably, thirty percent opposed it, and ten percent were undecided about its value. The possibility of using "local cultural materials" as subject matter in basic courses was regarded less favorably. Forty percent supported the idea, thirty percent did not and one fourth were undecided.

## Overall Perceptions

## Teachers' Perceptions of Indian Students

One-fourth (5) of the respondents held many stereotyped perceptions about Indians and Indian students. Thirty-five percent (7) were uninformed about Indians, but remained open-minded, avoided stereotyping Indian students and made genuine efforts to understand the students and their individual differences. Twenty percent (4) recognized individual Indian students' abilities and problems (including a little knowledge of family background) and while these respondents did not have a good understanding of American Indians as a cultural group, they demonstrated insight into Indian students as individuals. A few teachers (15%-3) viewed Indian students as individuals and as members of a unique cultural group.

Selected questionnaire data also indicated teachers held stereotyped perceptions of Indian students. Responses can be categorized as positive, negative, and neutral. A few teachers regarded Indian youth as more brave, and courageous than White youth, one-fourth rejected the statement, while half refused to stereotype Indian students. Nearly half of the respondents characterized their students as shy and lacking in confidence -- ten percent did not share this opinion. Forty percent did not stereotype their students in regard to behavior, ten percent agreed Indians were well behaved, forty percent indicated they were not well behaved, while forty-five percent refrained from stereotyping their Indian students.

## Attitudes Toward Teaching Menominee Youth

Twenty percent (4) of High School teachers expressed negative attitudes toward teaching Menominee students. It was their opinion that Menominee youth were difficult to teach, and the experience was unrewarding.

Half of the respondents identified factors which made teaching Menominee youth more difficult than teaching other students. These respondents regarded their teaching situation as a challenge and felt that with understanding Menominee children were not much more difficult to teach.

One fourth (5) of the teachers expressed neutral attitudes about teaching Menominee youth. They found the experience neither harder or easier. In fact, Indians were "no different" than other students. Fifteen percent (3) teachers enjoyed working with Menominee youth

## Perception of Students Interest in the Academic Aspect of School

### Questionnaire Data

Questionnaire data offered insight into teacher-perceptions of Indian students attitudes toward the academic aspect of school. Forty percent of the respondents felt Indian students preferred having a good time to "working hard to get ahead", (only one-fourth disagreed). None of the teachers regarded Indians as "eager students", over half (55%) felt they were not eager students.

### Interview Data

Ten percent (2) of Shawano High School teachers regarded Indian students as basically disinterested in the academic aspects of school.

Half (10) of the respondents characterized Indian students as interested in less-academically oriented courses such as physical education, and art, and uninterested in academic subjects.

Thirty-five percent of the teachers (7) felt Indian students were mildly interested in education. In their opinion, students liked some academic courses at least as well as the less academically oriented courses.

Two respondents (10%) were unable to make generalized statements about Indian students academic interests.

## Summary of Menominee Students Classroom Behavior and participation

High School teachers were asked to comment on several aspects of Indian students classroom behavior and participation: quietness, frequency and ease in volunteering information and raising questions in class discussions, consulting teachers regarding personal matters and questions and problems on classwork. Unfortunately data were not sifficient to enable comparisons for each aspect.

Forty percent (8) of the respondents felt Indian students tended to be quiet and withdrawn. An equal percent agreed that this accurately described some, but not all Menominee students. One High School teacher characterized Indian students as "boisterous". Teachers assessments of classroom participation varied. Ten percent indicated that Indians frequently participated, five percent felt they were reluctant to participate, fifteen percent characterized their participation as "infrequent", and thirty percent felt particiipation varied among Indian students.

The twenty percent of the respondents (5) suggested that the number of Indian students in a particular class determined the classroom behavior of the Indians in that class. In classes with several Indians, Menominees were less withdrawn and more active classroom participants.

Menominees Students and Discipline

Half (10) of the respondents indicated Indian students created discipline problems in the classroom.

One-fourth (5) of the teachers indicated they experience more frequent and some unique discipline problems with Indian students. Fighting, accusations of discrimination, and horseplay were mentioned.

Teachers' Evaluation of Their Effectiveness with Menominee Students

Seventy percent of Shawano teachers felt they communicated effectively with Indian students; thirty percent felt they did not.

## Teacher Preparation

Thirty-five percent (6) of Shawano teachers felt special courses, experience or guidance were unnecessary for teachers of Indian children. These teachers regarded Indian children as "no different" from other children. One respondent in this category recommended special training for Indian parents, not teachers.

Thirty-five percent (6) indicated some type of minimal training or education would be helpful, but was not necessary for effectively teaching Indian youth.

## Aids for Less Successful Menominee Students

Teachers were asked how they could help "less successful Indian students acquire the qualities of their best Indian students". Respondents suggestions were categorized: individualize instruction (7-35%), involve students (3-15%), "teach them control" (1-5%), improve Indian-White relationships (1-5%), create parental interest in education (1-5%), establish rapport (1-5%), and teach them skills (1-5%). Four teachers (20%) offered no suggestions.

## Recommendations for Change

In addition, thirty five percent of the teachers recommended changes designed to improve their effectiveness with Indian students. Unfortunately, most comments were wistful or vague and could not readily evolve into program changes. Two respondents (10%) indicated their ambivalence about including "Indian culture" in the curriculum.

One teacher addressed the high school's rigid structure. He supported the proposed change to modular scheduling but because students and teachers were not adequately prepared for the change he was skeptical about its success. Two respondents (10%) recommended improving reading materials

One respondent (5%) felt, "new techniques, not materials" were needed to improve teachers effectiveness.

## SOME CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Menominee life is characterized by massive social, cultural, political, technical and economic change. There are those Menominee who feel that important changes are visited upon them only by White Americans; there are precious few Menominee who see the origins of much important change coming from worldwide sources. Similarly, we met many Whites in Menominee County and Shawano who were no more informed about the rates, directions and origins of change than the local Native Americans. Some of these Whites were willing and able to blame most of their perceived personal and social difficulties upon Menominees for perfectly "local" reasons, suggesting to us that these Whites knew little of the national and extra-national dynamics shaping life in Menominee County and surrounding environs.

Harold Shane recently provided an excellent distillation of contemporary American/world difficulties, all of which have direct and indirect implications for the present and future conditions of life for Menominees and Whites:

### Ten Major Problems [12]

> The crisis of crises. The accumulation of crises in past seven or eight years was deemed serious. Difficulties which might have been handled singly became virtually impossible to cope with in the aggregate. Among the ominous sociopolitical and economic indicators were the threat of bankruptcy in some U.S. cities, sustained international tensions, many forms of dissent, inflation, unemployment, growing breaches in law and order including the problem of clogged court dockets, and various forms of racial tension which had not been significantly eased despite emphasis on cultural pluralism and human rights. In effect this major mosaic of problems can be described as a crisis of crises.

The credibility gap. The loss of credibility by persons or groups in authority is creating another "American Dilemma." Even the most legally constituted authorities -- the president, law enforcement agencies, parents, and teachers -- have had their authority ignored, denied or threatened.

Institutional Overload. Ambivalent attitudes toward authority is related to a third problem: the growing inability of institutions such as schools and courts of law to adapt to their new roles and tasks. In past this situation arose because some agencies, such as the schools, have been called on to assume responsibilities that they were not designed to fulfill and which they are not presently prepared to handle. Bureaucracy and lack of funds have compounded the problem.

Disagreement over the "good life." Lack of agreement as to the "best" quality of life -- the nature of "The Good Society" --has in itself generated a crisis. The social, economic, political, ethnic, ecological, industrial, religious, and business-labor cleavages here run deep. And the schools, as a speculum reflecting society, are experiencing a major problem in identifying the nature and qualities of the contemporary educated man and woman when there is no clear social agreement as to the good life to which school has traditionally prepared them to contribute.

The Value Crisis. For most of 'Middle America,' which was a very broad segment of the population in the 1920's, the nature of the social properties and amenities was clearly understood. One was brought up knowing the answer to what was good taste, proper dress, and appropriate social behavior. Today there is a violent value crisis which leaves many persons bewildered as to what is "right" and "wrong" with respect to such matters as drug abuse, pornography, the role of women, sexual mores, the functions of the church, and the like.

Equity versus equality. The matter of what constitutes "equity" has become a major problem-question. How does an equitable educational or job opportunity differ (if it does differ) from an equal one? Is merely equal treatment fair and just, or does justice reside in different treatment for the gifted, the disadvantaged, the culturally gifted, the handicapped, the very young, and the very old?

Rejection of Egalitarianism. An unrecognized rejection of equality in American democracy is a source of a problem intimately related to point six above. Judging by overt behavior rather than what many citizens say, a large majority seeks "equality with the top ten percent" rather than merely an equal share of the material goods and privileges provided by a technologically sophisticated society. They conceive of democracy as a foundation for upward mobility; a means of rising above one's father's station in life. Neither democracy nor U.S. education has an adequate coping doctrine with which to confront the inevitable resentment of young adults who are corroded by frustration when they begin to realize that they have failed to find room at the top and consequentially are dissatisfied as production workers, salesmen, technicians, and so on.

Lack of a future-focused role image for youth. As a concomitant of point 7 above, it would be noted that too little has been done in family life and in schooling to help children and youth develop a satisfying personal-vocational self-image that will prove to be realistic as they grow older. This lack of a future focused role image poses a substantial challenge to our schools as they endeavor to help motivate young learners to project themselves into a world of work of the future in which they experience dignity, respect, and other rewards in any one of many socially useful jobs rather than wistfully longing for so-called "prestige" jobs which actually require and employ only a small fraction of our manpower as professional workers, executives, owners, and entrepreneurs

Insensitivity to changing patterns of survival behavior. In the almost continuous eras of scarcity which preceded the development of industrial capacity in the Western world, successful survival behavior often involved becoming a part of the hereditary, ecclesiatical and military minority that had the pick of the simple luxuries and limited security that were available. Today, with a substantial array of consumer goods and services available to most Americans we have the problem of changing our patterns of survival behavior from medieval attitudes of suspicion, self-aggrandizement, and competition for scarce goods. Our survival as human beings (and perhaps even as a species) today depends to an increasing degree on mutual understanding, empathy, ability to reach agreement through

> interaction and reasonable compromise rather than by resort to force or by "pulling rank." Obsolete ideas regarding roads to survival need to be discarded quickly so that schools will be in a better position to free children and youth to develop more ecologically sound and humane relationships.
>
> The haves and the have-nots. A final crisis that most scientists interviewed in this USOE study felt to be a severe one was made up of three components: unwise use of technology, rapid increases in world population, and consequential ecological problems. It can most simply be labeled the "have-have not" problem. What it boils down to is this. In the early 1970's, the U.S. with approximately 6% of the world population, was consuming about two-thirds of the raw materials such as copper, coal, and oil that comprise the world's GNP. Theoretically, in 1973, if we increased our consumption by 50%, we could absorb all of the world's consumer goods. Even now the purchasing power of Americans at the U.S. poverty level is above the consumption level of the top 25% of whole populations in so-called developing countries. As one result the world's "have" nations -- especially the U.S. -- are on a collision course with the impoverished Third World and are severely harming the ecosphere in the process. It seems clear, in terms of the welfare of the planet, that we must recognize that there are limits to affluence, to technological exploitation and to population increase, and endeavor to move toward a policy that will reconcile people everywhere to the need to find satisfaction from sources other than acquiring material possessions.

There was little indication that very many Menominees in parental and/or leadership positions were able to understand the dynamics of their local situation in terms remotely approaching the scope of Shane's ten major problems. A scant few non-Menominee contacted in the course of field work were more sophisticated, and they suffered often at the hands of White officials and Menominee officials and parents alike. In short, there were few adult Menominees or Whites contacted by us during our fieldwork who could accept pragmatically, become skilled in, and make wide-spread use of information about the changing American and world societies in pursuit of their individual and collective goals. On the contrary, instead of being future-oriented in an open way, with their sources of rewards and punishments depending upon both traditional and non-traditional role definitions, most adult Menominees and Whites with an interest in Indian education exhibited one or more of the following reactions to the changes impinging upon them:

1. Indifference. Those local Whites who were "functionally affluent" through their "own hard work", particularly as professionals, tended to be unmotivated by commitment or ideology toward closer participation with the culturally different Menominee. They were undereducated in Menominee culture and larger-scale social change so as to be unresponsive, or to seek its use only where the information was directly compatible with fixed points of view. Often, they were oriented "frivolously" to local sociocultural dynamics, becoming interested only when their own interests were directly threatened.

   Many Menominee parents and influential persons were similarly oriented to the local inter-cultural situation, and in some cases were affected by their capacity to remain "functionally indifferent" to new environmental demands by virtue of various subsidies.

2. Inadequacy. Both local Whites and Menominees were unable to "grow"(in most cases) personally and socially from interaction with new information generated by change because they were "culturally inadequate"; that is, for varying reasons they were not able to interface effectively with new information and undergo change. Indian and White values and life styles were oriented toward immediate or historical conventions as to right/wrong, worthy/unworthy etc.; they insulated themselves from information

disturbing to such value systems; and they were ineffective in using and changing their environment from a control posture. Many of them knew this, and spoke of it in varying ways.

3. Rejection. There were those Menominees and Whites who rejected the larger implications of their changing local, national and world environments. They were actively or passively alienated from many commitments of the larger society and tended to be ideologically separated from it; they lived by different values and life styles and either were engaged in "outward" social movements. (An example of the latter is the Concerned Menominee Parents and Students Group.)

The many pages of this report speak eloquently to the three problems noted above. Specific manifestations of these problems appear again and again -- constant reminders that both Menominees and Whites suffered from an inability to accept their changing information environments as real, tangible environments to be dealt with actively and flexibly. Very few Menominees or Whites sought out new information from their environments in new ways, or attempted to re-think their situation in the broader context of changing American and world conditions.

Is this asking too much? Perhaps, but White and Indian racism, difficient communication structures, uninformed and ineffectual leadership, and the absence of "functional" cosmopolitanism are difficulties which can arrest the development of any people anywhere at anytime. The common forms of escape from reality practiced by men in cultures around the planet were evident in Menominee County and Shawano, Wisconsin. Aside from an almost total lack of understanding about national and world dynamics affecting them, most Menominees and Whites encountered by us in our fieldwork preferred not to know about these things. Furthermore, their "visions of the future" for themselves and their children essentially were linear, traditional, unsophisticated, and largely realizable only under the dubious conditions 1) that everything in the future remain the same as the present; or 2) that they make things over in a utopian mold. If ever it was true that people without vision increase the likelihood of their decline, the well-meaning Indian and White folk in and around Menominee County offer abundant evidence that the slogan works only too well in their case. And the children in the schools pay the penalties today and tomorrow.

## Footnotes

[1] Spindler, George D., Sociocultural and Psychological Processes in Menomini Acculturation. Los Angeles: University of California Press, Vol. 15, 1955.

[2] Ibid., p. 1.

[3] Ibid., p. 204.

[4] Spindler, George D., Education and Culture. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1963.

[5] Ibid., pp. 395-396.

[6] Erdman, Joyce M., Handbook on Wisconsin Indians. Wisconsin: Governor's Commission on Human Rights and the University of Wisconsin Extension, 1966.

[7] Ibid., pp. 43-49.

[8] LaFave, Reuben, Robert Warren, James G. Frechette, et. al. Report of the Menominee Indian Study Committee to the Wisconsin Legislative Council, Vol. VIII. January, 1970.

[9] Ibid., pp. 28-29.

[10] Tomasich, John Jr. "A Study of Resources and Building Needs of Joint District No. 8, Shawano". Field Study (305-990), Spring Semester 1966, conducted under Howard Wakefield of the Graduate School of Educational Administration, University of Madison.

[11] Ibid., pp. 52-54.

[12] Shane, Harold G., "The Educational Significance of the Future." Paper prepared for the U.S. Commissioner of Education, August, 1972 (mimeographed), pp. 9-12.